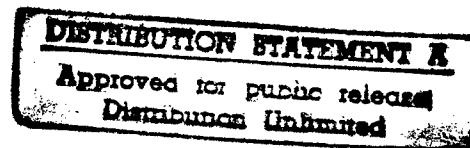


JPRS-NEA-91-029
17 MAY 1991



JPRS Report



Near East & South Asia

19980203 077

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N O T I C E

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Near East & South Asia

JPRS-NEA-91-029

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PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

Article Advises "Cautious" Response to Initiatives

91AE0339A Jerusalem AL-BAYADIR AL-SIYASI
in Arabic 16 Mar 91 pp 2-3

[Unsigned article: "Serious' Political Stage Requires Full Awareness, Responsibility"]

[Text] The political battle to achieve peace in the Middle East region began after fighting ended in the Gulf area, after Iraq agreed to implement all international Security Council resolutions related to the "Kuwait" crisis. This battle is not easy; it is difficult. This is what the American President George Bush declared when he announced the cease-fire at dawn on 28 February 1991.

The political battle is long and requires great effort. It will be strenuous because more than one party is involved and more than one side has an interest in impeding or facilitating the political efforts, because opinions may differ over the nature and essence of the ultimate solution, and because the initiatives that have been, or may be, put forward will be contradictory and have varying directions, objectives, and interests.

We say that the political battle began with the visit of the United States secretary of state to the region and the many visits of foreign ministers of European countries. These visits can be considered the first shot in this battle, the battle to achieve peace and stability in a region that has not relaxed or had a quiet moment for more than five decades.

Political efforts in the context of this battle will necessarily be accompanied by numerous publicity campaigns and varying approaches. We have begun to feel and sense these campaigns through the many statements of James Baker and other ministers, who have literally declared: "There is no place for the Palestinian Liberation Organization in these efforts...or in the peace process in the Middle East region." These statements have also been accompanied by campaigns to spread doubt and fabrication regarding the right of the Palestinian people, a biased propaganda campaign to concoct statements and correspondence and to force Palestinians from the [West] Bank and the [Gaza] Strip to stand behind this fanciful, contrived, false, forged correspondence. The primary objective of these campaigns is to harm the march of the Palestinian people and to disable the peaceful march by removing and disregarding the basic party to this process and draining away the entire world's enthusiasm for the need to apply international legitimacy in the Middle East region and all parts of the world.

Such campaigns will be fierce and difficult, and they will be arduous. Another primary objective is to drive a divisive wedge between the members of one people by striking at political accomplishments achieved over long years, spreading various despicable, prejudiced rumors having no basis in truth, and by many other means,

particularly in view of the fact that the quarters conducting this campaign possess tremendous informational capabilities and vast sums of money which are spent to spread the poison and to encourage and instigate these dangerous campaigns.

The coming political phase is extremely critical. Its importance must not be underestimated or taken lightly. It demands full caution, full awareness, full energy, and full dedication, because any relaxation, incapacity, or weakness may open the way for hostile quarters to accomplish even a simple part of the objectives they are hoping to achieve through these publicity campaigns.

Dedication does not involve releasing statements or responding to false declarations, rather it is taking a single firm, resolute, unmovable stance that such campaigns cannot shake. Any hand extended in an attempt to strike or impair it will be broken on the rock of our stance. The present phase requires that every individual be up to the level of responsibility when issuing [a statement], neither listening to rumors nor giving or lending them importance, and never believing them. He must take the position of a responsible, alert individual who cannot be fooled by attempts to infiltrate, confuse, and divide. We know very well that every member of the Palestinian people, wherever he may be, is sufficiently aware that such campaigns cannot affect or harm what he believes in or change his resolute unambiguous position one iota.

This political stage also requires that Palestinian officials, regardless of their tendencies or views, must hold on to what they have accomplished and achieved through long years of diligence, toil, and effort, and preserve it. They must not allow their sensitivities to control them, become angry easily, and fall into the trap. They must have a high sense of responsibility, naturally requiring further rallying around the legitimate leadership, adherence to Palestinian positions and principles, and supporting them to the fullest extent. This is achieved, of course, by greater cohesion and firmer national unity that avoids secondary sensitivities, problems, and disputes. These must be put away at this very critical stage in the history of our people and the peoples of the region.

We are saying very frankly that the coming days are pregnant with surprises and dangerous initiatives. They will also be filled with proposals to do away with the leadership of this people, attempting to denigrate it under many slogans and pretexts. Everyone must be prepared to meet and take on the dangerous plots ahead which will try to grant the Palestinian people the crumbs of what they deserve and want. They will try to disregard their leadership and strike at its many political accomplishments that have confounded most quarters and are considered dangerous to one or another of them.

Logic stipulates and decrees that any solution cannot and will not be just, equitable, balanced, and permanent while it ignores the desire of the people, attempts to

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evade, twist, and distance itself from the accomplished fact, and tries to impose ridiculous alternatives to a resolute leadership loved and supported by our Palestinian people wherever they are located.

Palestinian political accomplishments have cost much effort and sweat; the price has been costly and dear. Neither the Palestinian people nor anyone else dare squander them; on the contrary, they must be held ever more tightly. [Palestinians] must rally around their leadership and absolutely refuse to have a leadership imposed on it, or have terms dictated to it that are anything but logical or just and totally remote from the beautiful slogans of international legitimacy.

We must prepare for the political stage ahead as Palestinians. We must demonstrate to the entire world that we are up to the level of responsibility. We must absolutely reject any attempt to impose an undesirable peace. We reject a soft peace. We insist on achieving a just, firm, lasting peace based on rights, and we are prepared for it regardless of the difficulties and hardships.

The hour has struck beginning the critical political phase. Everyone must be up to the responsibility and the covenant they took upon themselves. All Palestinians must unify their stances and close every window that might make problems or open cracks, even small ones, in their position.

This is a very critical phase. Every person must be aware and alert to everything that might happen. Let all efforts be intertwined to strengthen the Palestinian position and leave it steadfast and to impose respect for it among all hostile officials. We have great confidence that the Palestinian people will pass through this critical phase as did others in the past. A just peace based on rights must be achieved soon through the realization of the aspirations of the Palestinian people and all peoples of the region. A desirable peace, not an imposed peace, must be achieved in the end, and that in the near future.

ALGERIA

Mehri Discusses FIS, Arab Issues, Elections

91AA0358A Algiers AL-MUJAHID in Arabic
5 Apr 91 p 4

[Report on Televised Interview With Abdelhamid Mehri, Secretary General of FLN Party Central Committee; "Mehri in Televised Interview: Democracy Is Algeria's Chance to Surpass All Crises"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] Algeria is experiencing a difficult structural crisis and reforms are encountering difficulties because Algeria does not wish to continue to cover up problems. The crisis peaked when oil prices fell. Oil provided the cover with which we were able to meet our problems. If we do not want the solution to be accomplished at the expense of our children and if we want to be honest, we must shoulder today a share of the

burden of solving the problems so that we can ensure a better condition for our children.

The government has experienced the drop in income and the inflation which the families have experienced. Therefore, a little sacrificing is required. What is important is that the sacrifice not be made by just the powerless but by everybody so that we can subsidize prices, take care of the unemployed, keep the public sector prosperous and, consequently, safeguard manpower and preserve job positions.

Regarding the Gulf Crisis

The Gulf issue and the Arab East issues in general are, according to brother Mehri, still being raised and require greater attention than ever before. What has happened is a prelude to what will happen. This is why we must focus on what is happening now. As for lessons of the past, there is, in general, consensus on the principled positions of the government and the people. The National Liberation Front [FLN] has been loyal to the people's traditions and has not made the mistake of engaging in oneupmanship. It has been proven that our analysis was founded on an objective and principled viewpoint. We have preserved independent opinion. The parties' eagerness for their independence is what contributed to their failure to respond to our appeal for a united position. [passage omitted]

Proposals and Reservations

Regarding the reservations and proposals of the group of eight, or the group of seven plus one, on preparation for the elections, the Central Committee secretary general said: With my respect for their opinions, they greatly confuse the party with the government. The assembly has never given up its powers to the opposition parties. The problem is the lack of trust in the ruling party. However, this party has a greater degree of legitimacy than these parties. It is unreasonable that they should make the preparations instead of the ruling party because this task is within the powers of the government and the assembly. Demanding that a committee take the place of the government and the assembly means that this committee should take their powers. This is far from the concept of the constitution. The parties are entitled to contribute. The assembly has opened a dialogue with all the parties and I wish they would contribute. But it is deviation on their part to demand the powers to hold the elections. They will not be able to manage the elections. The citizen's awareness is the guarantee for having honest elections.

The same applies for administrative division.

We are a party that has inherited patriotism and jealousy for this country and nothing undermining the country's interest could come from this party.

What About the Alliances Issue?

In this connection, brother Mehri pointed out that the prominent feature is the fact that the parties are eager to prove their independent presence and that if they form alliances, they do not enter into an alliance with the ruling party so as to gain prominence as opposition parties. At present, we prefer that these parties prove their presence. We could cooperate, but an alliance can be formed only on the basis of a program and a policy. These will be clearer and easier after the elections. Parties must emerge from the opposition to offer an alternative and explain it to the people. After the elections, if there are forces that are close to us with their principles, then we will form an alliance. Thus, an alliance cannot be an election alliance only, but an alliance to solve the people's problems and to lead the people out of the crisis.

What About the Modernization Process?

The modernization process has produced important results, even though some deficiencies have been recorded in certain areas. To us, modernization is not an activity connected with the elections. But this process has put us in a better position than the position in which we were on 12 June. There is no doubt that the strugglers are aware of this.

As to whether the FLN is ready to either win or depart, when we worked for the success of the democratic course, we were prepared for all possibilities and for continuing our role in shouldering the responsibilities. A major segment of the people is saturated with the FLN principles and this segment finds that its aspirations are embodied in the FLN's tendencies. Despite all the faults, the people have now seen some parties in action and they can render a judgment. Regardless of how easy promises are, they clash with the reality when the time to make good on these promises comes. We are prepared to shoulder the responsibility if it is the people's will that we should.

As to the question of whether the FLN will be present in the absence of its strugglers, as happened on 12 June, Mehri said that it will be present and that its conduct will derive from the past. (It is imagined) that the elections will be held without popular presence and control. But the FLN must exercise the control to which the law entitles it.

Regarding the Wings Issue

Regarding the alliance Ben Bella and (Mehsas) are said to have formed with a wing of the FLN, Mehri said that there are wings that have sprung from the FLN, if Ben Bella means wings in the broad sense of the word. But with the FLN's current condition and with our openness to all the brothers who are close to us in general tendency, I do not understand (such an alliance?). [passage omitted]

Where Is the Truth

Regarding the report AL-WATAN has quoted from Channel 3 regarding Saudi Arabia's financing of the Islamic Salvation Front [FIS], Abdelhamid Mehri said: This report is derived from an official Saudi source. The party that can confirm or deny it is the party concerned. The issue continues to be raised. So where is the truth?

Between the Arab Orient and Maghreb

On Libya's opening of its borders with Egypt, Mehri said: Our view on building the Arab Maghreb does not harbor the idea of isolating it from the Arab East. We have always considered Libya the link with the Arab East. This step poses no threat to the Arab Maghreb because it is the aspiration of all the peoples and because it goes beyond the calculations of the regimes, regardless of their nature.

But there are mistakes that we cannot forgive, and they include enlisting the aid of foreign forces for problems that can be solved by the Arabs.

As to the extent of Algeria's ability to stand fast in the face of the acts of revenge aimed at it because of its positions, Mehri said: There are principled issues over which there can be no bargaining. Algeria is experiencing numerous difficulties resulting from these acts. We do not cover up our private mistakes. But there are premeditated acts against Algeria in this regard. It is definite that our people do not succumb to such acts.

What About the Mali Coup?

On this issue, Mehri said: We find that all the conditions existing in the third world and in the Arab countries give rise to the question of democracy. In the Gulf issue, the problem of the people's relationship with the rulers has been present.

It is our belief that the peoples have urgent aspirations embodied in the demand for democracy. The question is: How can the regimes respond to this demand before it is imposed on them by foreign forces, not out of love for democracy but to strike their stability?

We have seen how the foreign onslaught has escalated since the FLN undertook to shift to the democratic course and to apply an economic system based on observing economic laws. This is because we have foiled the foreigners' opportunity to employ the weapon of democracy which would have been used against the national tendency in Algeria.

Between Valor and Insolence

The onslaught continues. The presence of numerous parties is justified by nothing other than the FLN because these parties have nothing to offer the people. There are those who confuse valor with insolence whereas the competition should be based on programs and solutions. We have allowed the FLN to be attacked and denounced in mosques. But when will the people

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involved learn that problems are not solved by reviling the FLN? If revilement could solve the problems, we would also revile it! All we hear is demands for the change of persons. If there was a party or group of parties who offered a program in which the people find their heart's desire, then everybody would, of course, join such a party or parties. But to demand a change of persons without programs is tantamount to seeking easy solutions. Regarding those who have returned to the FLN, those who are waiting for the opportunity to shed away the "qandurah," and those moving to other parties, Mehri said: The FLN is an asset and a support. They are brothers to whom we are tied by nothing other than serving the people. The motive behind these brothers' return is some experiences that have proven to them what is true and what is false. As for the "qandurah," we are not opposed to it. It is a part of our heritage and our traditional costume, and it signifies loyalty to the people. It is better than imported clothing.

The relationship is not yet completely healthy because the modernization process, which started to take its full course, has now stopped at the governorate level, because the elections caught us by surprise. The modernization process dictates that the leadership be elected with utter democracy. We want the FLN with its immortal principles and with strugglers who have rejuvenated themselves with the phase of democracy and of abandoned falsehood. [passage omitted]

EGYPT

New Governors Explain Agenda Priorities

*91AA0311A Cairo AL-MUSAWWAR in Arabic
29 Mar 91 pp 48-49*

[Article by 'Atif Faraj: "New Governors Tell AL-MUSAWWAR, 'Welfare of Citizens First!'"']

[Text]

Judge's Conscience and Neutrality in All Problems

Counselor Mahir al-Jundi, the new governor of Kafr al-Shaykh, expressed his vision of the next phase of work as follows: "It is a new experience in the field of public service, and I hope to be successful in it. In and through it, we will tackle all the public's problems objectively, with impartiality, resoluteness, and a judge's impartial conscience, and in the context of the specific problems and difficulties of each governorate of the country."

The new governor of Kafr al-Shaykh added: "Initially, I will begin by studying the problems that affect Kafr al-Shaykh governorate. After this study, which will be based on reality, feeling, and objectivity, a planned study will be made of the kinds of treatment effective against the problems that affect the governorate."

Counselor Mahir al-Jundi elaborated: "I believe the population problem is foremost among the problems affecting Egypt. The problem was high on the list of what

President Mubarak discussed in his talk with us. It must necessarily be on the mind of any governor, because he must formulate new ideas to deal with it at the level of his governorate. The solutions must be in keeping and in step with overall government policy. There is the problem of increasing production, which is the goal toward which we should strive in the coming phase. Egypt is a country full of expertise: sincere efforts and enlightened thinking are all that is needed to realize the goal of increasing production. I believe that with such thinking and such efforts the leaders of the work will be able to invest all available energies and resources to work for increased production as the foundation of the economic solution to our economic problem."

Counselor Mahir al-Jundi said: "The president's directives concentrated on the population problem, which is on the mind and in the thinking of the political leadership, and ought to be on the mind of all leaders of work everywhere. In his meeting with us, the president also concentrated on concern for the problems of people wherever they may be and familiarity with them. This is because citizens' problems are among the problems in which President Mubarak is completely interested. He sees the need to create quick solutions for them in order to remove suffering from the public."

About the water problem in Kafr al-Shaykh, he said: "I believe that through thought and field study we will succeed in finding a method and a way to remedy this problem. There is no problem without a solution, especially when the solution draws support from thinking, cooperation, sincere, constructive effort, and private efforts. The government need not solve everything. The able public should contribute to solving problems, because we are in a society characterized by associations, cooperation, and harmony. Private effort has its share. Reliance must not be concentrated on the government budget. This is what I will strive for in the coming phase. As an example of such private effort, we had an experience in the Heliopolis Club: through their private efforts the members of the club contributed 1 million pounds to support the club's budget. This enabled us to embark upon comprehensive building and development operations in the club and to aspire toward improvement. All citizens must contribute to improvement, for benefit must redound to all through the participation of all."

As the new governor of Kafr al-Shaykh, what do you think about the policy of reward and punishment?

Counselor Mahir al-Jundi said: "This policy will emanate from a judge's conscience and thinking. Those who have made a good contribution must have their due consideration. Those who are deficient in their work and fall behind should first be warned and encouraged to work more energetically. If they persist and are recalcitrant, the only solution is to forget about them and impose the judgment of the law upon them."

Dialogue—Basic Method and Current Vision

Major General Muhammad Hasan Tantawi, the governor of Sawhaj, explained that during his meeting with the new governors President Husni Mubarak devoted full attention to citizen interests and to freeing the organs of local government from the obstacles of routine and bureaucracy. He also paid attention to the problem of the family and the need for family planning. He warned of the consequences of the population explosion, stating that citizens must be made aware and that active solutions must be instituted by the organs of local government.

Regarding his vision of the coming phase of work, Maj. Gen. Tantawi said: "I draw this vision from my previous work in security. It is a vision that gives a clear picture of the nature of the problems of society, the problems of young people, the danger spots into which some young people fall politically or criminally, the role of society as a whole in remedying this through its local, educational, and youth-oriented organs and through education, the role of localities, and the role of all agencies in the area. If we can arrive at a remedy for these problems, there could be a broad basis for the rising generation to exercise its responsibilities within a framework of discipline."

Does this imply that you will follow the path of dialogue to solve the problems of young people politically?

"I consider the method of dialogue to be the complete and sound logic to achieve sure results. If we are talking about public security and political security, we must distinguish between them. Public security deals with drug dealers, thieves, and that sort of people. You need certain kinds of apparatus and punishments to deal with such crimes. As for political crimes—those committed by a man or youth with an ideology or particular way of thinking—early in such a person's espousal of such thinking there must be open dialogue with him in an uncomplicated and nonauthoritarian way. Based on my experience, such dialogue usually achieves 95 percent of the desired results. I compare this to a skillful doctor who resorts to surgery only when absolutely necessary and gives medicine to cases that do not need such surgery. As a method of political action, we consider the scalpel a last-stage method of treatment. Someone treating a disease like cancer resorts to surgery only when necessary; otherwise it leads to the spread of the disease and to contrary results."

What are Maj. Gen. Tantawi's ambitions for Sawhaj governorate?

"I am originally from Asyut, and Sawhaj is part of the environment in which I lived. I worked as an inspector for the Bureau of Investigation for National Security in Sawhaj in 1970 and 1971. I think that Egyptian citizens in Upper Egypt differ from those in the Delta only in inherited customs and traditions. There are a few relevant sensitive points involving traditions to which they cling and which they preserve. Given the environment in

which I was raised in Upper Egypt, I will be careful about these traditions—perhaps more so than they. Also, I think that any action not based on scientific method is doomed to fail. Therefore, my goal is careful study and the method of scientific and practical treatment to solve the governorate's problems, including the problems of young people, unemployment, and the problems that affect people at the bottom of society—a large proportion of people. These problems will be studied with great care, and the solution will be on carefully studied scientific foundations."

Conversion Training, Environment

Dr. Ahmad al-Juwayli, the new governor of Ismailia and former governor of Damietta, said: "My previous work experience in Damietta revealed fundamentals of the field of public work, including such subjects as: young people and the related subjects of unemployment or conversion training; the environment and the related subjects of preserving it, developing it, and resource development; participation in development by private efforts; opening the door for the private sector and solving its problems; and participation in political decisionmaking, so as to include both sides in participation in development."

Dr. al-Juwayli added: "One of the things in which I took an interest in Damietta and in which I will take an interest in Ismailia is the subject of the ordinary citizen, in terms of interest in his services, his future, and the everyday problems that preoccupy him—education, health, sewers, water, housing, etc. Also within the broad outlines for work in the coming phase are the problems of housing and the population explosion, with its related problems of childhood, illiteracy, education, and developing human awareness."

Citing his previous experience in Damietta, the new governor of Ismailia said: "We had a method that proved effective—the method of balanced development, meaning development in all sectors, not just in one sector, so that one does not concentrate on one particular sector, leaving out the others. Such balanced development results in positive interaction between our various fields. It also means that development will not be shunted exclusively into one part of the city, or into the city to the exclusion of the village. Thus, the largest possible sector of people will benefit from such development. Basic social priorities will therefore be established to promote such development."

Ismailia is noted for being a big area of agricultural expansion. What is your view [about agriculture]?

Dr. al-Juwayli said: "Agriculture is an extremely important sector, and will receive attention. Naturally, I will build on what already exists in the governorate, adding to it, developing it, and completing it. The previous battle line in this area is a good place for continuing the work in this area with full effort and dedication."

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Attention has been drawn to youth-related problems. What would you say in comment?

"Young people are a very important sector. In the past, they were one of my most important interests in Damietta, and I will continue my interest in them in Ismailia. This will take place through youth centers which must exist everywhere, not just in the cities. At the same time, these centers must be made to participate in development projects, especially development and protection of the environment. Young people must be made participants in vital projects such as anti-illiteracy projects. They must be given sound, apolitical religious indoctrination. If we teach young people religion correctly, the outcome will be good and positive. In this we shall need an intensive method that will satisfy the great need that young people have for this. The unemployment problem is connected with this aspect. Since it is a very important aspect, I began a program of conversion training in Damietta which called for enabling young people to excel at a vocation and then giving them loans to buy production requisites. I hope to find the needed resources for this program, so that it can realize its objective."

Do you believe in dialogue as a remedy to convince young people of the truth regarding their problems?

Dr. al-Juwayli said: "As a university professor, I know that dialogue is an axiom—a university professor engages in give and take with his children—and is able to deal with this bad group. Furthermore, Ismailia has advantages that differ from what was in Damietta. There were a few colleges in Damietta, such as the Education College and the Science College belonging to al-Mansurah University, and we derived great benefit from the two through their participation in some governorate projects. Ismailia has a full university, the Suez Canal University. Without doubt, this university is a very great resource to help in confronting problems in the governorate and to forge a link between the academy and society. Also in Ismailia is the Suez Canal Authority, of which I as a citizen am proud. This agency has a great influence on the community and its relations. Cooperation with it will be a basic principle in the coming phase of work, God permitting."

Legislative Intervention and the Population Explosion

Counselor Mahmud Bahi-al-Din 'Abdallah, the new governor of Damietta, explained: "A governor's job is to solve the people's problems, work to make them comfortable, and help them to achieve their legitimate hopes. He also works to promote justice among people and implement government policy."

The new governor of Damietta added: "This activity will be in line with the nature of the governorate. There will be interest in the summer resort of Ra's al-Barr and in stimulating the new port of Damietta, in addition to all the interests that involve the welfare of citizens in the Damietta governorate. As an industrial city, Damietta requires that primary materials and production requisites be provided. Its citizens need help in distributing or

exporting their products. Interest in the people of Damietta naturally includes interest in young people and their sports and social activities and in the problems of unemployment and housing. As for the crisis of continual population increases, I believe that the matter requires legislative intervention to confront the problem, as happened in other countries such as India. In his directives, President Mubarak concentrated on discussing the means able to solve the problem of the population explosion. He also stressed interest in increasing production and removing any administrative obstacles that hinder this increase in production, as well as serving citizens in all ways that guarantee the achievement of this service through gaining experience of the public's problems and working to solve them."

What about your personal wishes for the people of Damietta?

Counselor Mahmud Bahi-al-Din 'Abdallah said: "What I really want is to make the people of Damietta happy, whatever their social level, situation, or job. I want to realize for them any of their dreams and hopes that I can and to make every effort toward this end."

Constant Presence To Serve Citizens

Major General Mustafa Kamil, the governor of al-Daqahliyah, said the following about his vision of the future phase of work in the governorate: "It gives me pleasure to begin a new practical life different from what I was previously engaged in. This new life in local government is to serve the public and work to provide them with the means of comfort and confidence. I believe that my opportunity to serve the people of al-Daqahliyah will bring great benefit, for al-Daqahliyah is a governorate with a great history and has an outstanding and bright present. It is a pioneering governorate in the field of private funding of projects and is rich in its men. God permitting, there will be large and varied areas for cooperation with all popular and local organizations to realize the hopes of the people of al-Daqahliyah. I hope to exert my utmost effort to remove any obstacles and overcome any difficulties. Our guiding principle in this will always be the welfare of the people of the governorate and the realization of their interests."

The new governor of al-Daqahliyah added: "Any governor, I think, believes that the best of his actions are those that express his successes, and these are accomplished after embarking upon experience, not before. Now we are at the beginning of the road. God permitting, God will bring to success our efforts and what President Mubarak desires—not only for the people of al-Daqahliyah but for all the people of the country—a solution to problems and a rapid surge toward strengthening Egypt's lofty edifice and leading role in the region."

Will you be able to benefit in your new job from your previous job as director of the Bureau of Investigation for National Security?

Maj. Gen. Mustafa Kamil said: "My previous work was different from work in local government. The foundations of my new job will be based on direct and constant contact with citizens. There will be ongoing dialogue, frankness, participation, and constant presence among citizens—where they live and where they work—to solve their problems on site and gain close-up knowledge of the difficulties and obstacles that hinder them. The policy of meetings and discussion will therefore be one of my means to realize my goals. Although my previous work as director of National Security also aimed at realizing the interests of citizens, the means and implementation will differ in the coming stage of work."

Draft Budget Increases 25 Percent

91AA0370A Cairo AL-MUSAWWAR in Arabic
3 May 91 p 13

[Article by Majid 'Atiyah: "Why Have Budget Figures Increased 25 Percent Over Last Year; Despite Expected Increase in Revenues, Deficit Drops to Just 9.3 Percent"]

[Text] This year, and for the first time in many years, the state's draft general budget has been sent to the People's Assembly on the date set by the constitution, namely the end of April, i.e., two months prior to the date on which the budget goes into effect, considering that the fiscal year begins on 1 July. It has been customary on the government's part to send a letter of notification to the People's Assembly on the constitutional date and then to send the draft budget later.

This year, the budget figures attract attention, considering that they have increased by nearly 25 percent over the size of the budget for the current fiscal year, which is coming to an end. Perhaps this is due to three factors:

First, a change in the exchange rates of the new budget accounts equaling 40 percent of the exchange rates existing at the time the current budget was drafted.

Second, a rise in interest rates which reflects on the investment budget, especially when we learn that a 1-percent increase in the interest rate saddles the budget with a burden of nearly 800 million pounds.

Third, expectations of an increase in government revenues as a result of the tax reforms, the new sales tax, and improved tax collection operations, especially since the sales tax alone is expected to add nearly 1.5 billion pounds to these revenues and the general taxes are expected to add no less than one billion pounds, not to mention an additional billion pounds expected in the form of increased customs revenues as a result of a modified customs tariff.

Perhaps the most important observation—in spite of the increased revenues, increased appropriations in the various budget sections, and expansion in meeting the new year's requirements in the areas of investment and

services—is that the size of the deficit has been contained at 9.3 percent of the gross national product whereas it amounted to 14 percent [in the current fiscal year] and to an even higher percentage in the preceding year. This has been accomplished despite the increase in the volume of the appropriations for wages and for subsidies. In this budget, this volume amounts to nearly 18.2 billion pounds, of which 10.9 billions are for wages and pensions alone. Meanwhile, government spending for administrative apparatus investments has amounted to just 7.4 billion pounds.

Another important observation is that despite cancellation of a part of the debts and expectations of the cancellation of another part of these debts, the budget is to appropriate 14.5 billion pounds to be remitted to the Central Bank of Egypt to meet the burdens of the interest for payable debts so that these burdens will not saddle the future generations.

But the most prominent observation regarding the investment plan, which is the plan for the final year of the second five-year plan, is that investments have been confined to public utilities and to replacement and renewal, leaving new projects alone. The private sector's economic investments are expected to be less than 8.1 billion pounds representing 43 percent of the plan's investments.

It can be said here that the budget has taken into consideration several delicate balances concerning economic and social aspects, while boosting the private sector's role, the appropriations for the Social Development Fund for Small Projects, and youth employment. This is in addition to the effort the government contributes to the infrastructure and to creating a balance in wages.

Committee Chairman on Next Step in Arab Solidarity

91AA0258A London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic
15 Mar 91 pp 24, 25

[Interview with Sabri al-Qadi, chairman of the Arab Affairs Committee in the Egyptian People's Assembly, by Usamah 'Ajaj; Cairo, date not given; "Chairman of Arab Affairs Committee of Egyptian People's Assembly to AL-HAWADITH: 'Coming Stage Requires New Form of Arab Solidarity'"]

[Text] The Iraqi invasion continues to be the main issue claiming attention at Arab, regional, and international levels.

In a Cairo interview with Sabri al-Qadi, chairman of the Arab Affairs Committee in the Egyptian People's Assembly, AL-HAWADITH covered many aspects of this crisis, including correspondence between official and popular stances on the Iraqi invasion, the means of getting out of the dilemma, approval of sending Egyptian forces to Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates (UAE), the restructuring of Arab-Egyptian relations after

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the crisis, Egyptian participation in rebuilding Kuwait, compensating Egyptian losses, the impact of the crisis on the Palestinian issue, the Arab League, and the situation in southern Lebanon. The interview with Sabri al-Qadi follows:

[Ajaj] Let us begin with a question concerning the extent of agreement and difference between the popular position represented by the legislature and the official position in recent months concerning the crisis caused by Iraq's invasion of Kuwait.

[Al-Qadi] Allow us to emphasize our appreciation for the serious steps being followed by Egyptian diplomacy, headed by President Husni Mubarak, in its handling of the Gulf crisis, seeking to avoid war in the region by using every means available to affect the Iraqi position to achieve withdrawal from Kuwait. Despite Egyptian diplomatic efforts through sustained consultations with the various concerned Arab and international parties and all Egyptian, Arab, and international attempts, nothing succeeded in convincing the Iraqi president to withdraw to spare his people, his army, the Arabs, and people everywhere the dangers of a destructive war.

[Ajaj] Is there something specific that can be done to get us out of the dilemma we have been living since last August 2nd?

[Al-Qadi] We have no other means than to implore the Iraqi president to take a responsible decision to end [the shedding of] Arab blood, save his people and capacities, and spare the Arab region further evil by withdrawing from Kuwait, without impinging on Iraq's borders or sovereignty over its land. We want a strong Iraq, not an aggressive Iraq. The military resolution that occurred resulted in the destruction of Iraqi military capabilities, thereby disturbing the delicate strategic balance in the entire region and failing to achieve Arab national interest.

[Ajaj] Do you believe the People's Assembly approved the government's step of sending Egyptian forces to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the UAE?

[Al-Qadi] Allow us to point out that sending Egyptian armed forces to Saudi Arabia and the UAE arises from Egypt's leading role in the Arab region and its historical responsibility in putting matters aright, in implementation of the joint Arab defense treaty and resolutions of the Arab League and the Security Council. In spite of the Egyptian position's clarity of vision on this issue, it was placed on the discussion table in the People's Assembly and in its specialized committees. The official position got unprecedented support, especially after President Mubarak clarified the intricacies of his position in his comprehensive speech before the People's Assembly and Consultative Council after military operations began the middle of last January.

[Ajaj] The issue of Egyptian participation in rebuilding Kuwait and how Egypt will be compensated for losses

resulting from the Gulf crisis has recently been raised. How do you envision Egypt's role in this regard?

[Al-Qadi] As studies by international parties have indicated, Egypt incurred losses due to the onset of the Gulf crisis, its repercussions, and the outbreak of war in the region, estimated in the billions of dollars because of a fall in tourism rates, Suez Canal revenues, transfers from Egyptian expatriate workers in the Arab world, and decreased exports to the Arab region. For this reason, all parties will have to pay attention to the delicate economic conditions Egypt currently finds itself in as a direct result of the Gulf crisis and the need to be compensated for the losses. At the same time, the Egyptian government must work to protect the rights of Egyptians working in both Kuwait and Iraq in coordination with the International Labor Organization.

On Egyptian participation in Kuwaiti reconstruction, we have to complete the studies needed to determine the steps in the phase following the battle to liberate Kuwait, in particular by preparing the companies and labor groups needed to reconstruct everything destroyed by war in countries of the Gulf region, especially Kuwait and Iraq. Priority has to be given to using those who returned when the war first broke out, those who previously worked there and gained the experience and skills required by the nature of the reconstruction phase, and preparation of a bilateral treaty to organize the Egyptian labor operation and provide it with the guarantees it needs, satisfactory wages, and insurance.

[Ajaj] I wonder about the negative effects of the Iraqi invasion on Arab issues. How should they be viewed?

[Al-Qadi] The Iraqi aggression is considered a serious violation of Arab and international legitimacy and an unprecedented desecration of the precepts of inter-Arab dealings. It is also a desecration and horrendous blow to Arab solidarity. Iraq is an important part and foundation stone of the Arab nation, with a role and responsibility which would have been more appropriately used on behalf of the interests of the Arab nation and to serve its people, rather than in the attempt to isolate and conquer it. This miscalculation of the Iraqi leadership came at a time when the world is witnessing the development of international relations and the initial crystallization of a world order leaning toward rapprochement and the peaceful resolution of disputes. We had hoped that efforts would be dedicated to putting an end to the Arab-Israeli dispute in this atmosphere of peaceful rapprochement.

[Ajaj] Could you tell us how the Palestinian issue has been affected by the Gulf war.

[Al-Qadi] The Palestinian issue, in spite of its importance at the Arab level, has suffered the greatest damage resulting from the Gulf crisis. It has been marginalized and placed well outside the spotlight because of Palestinian leadership miscalculations in supporting Iraq's policies, at the cost of its veracity and the legitimacy of its struggle against Israeli occupation of Palestinian

territory. Israel found a perfect opportunity in the Gulf crisis to deal separately with the Palestinian people and implement its plans related to increasing Soviet Jewish immigration and their direct and indirect resettlement in occupied Arab territories, constituting a new aggression on Palestinian rights, a major danger to the Arab nation, and a violation of Arab human rights, the principles of international law, and the Fourth Geneva Accord of 1949 protecting civilians and their rights in time of war.

We feel that the price of this crime will be heavy in terms of world peace. There can be no stability in the Middle East as long as the aggression against the Palestinian people continues because of the direct relationship between the absorption of additional immigrants and Israel's geographical expansion. We have faith that despite any difference in stands between Egypt and the Palestinian leadership, Arab Egypt's commitment towards the fraternal Palestinian people and its cohesiveness with the population of the occupied territories will continue without interruption. We must step up our efforts to apply resolutions of international legitimacy issued by the Security Council concerning the Palestinian issue equally with those on the Gulf crisis, as they relate to establishing a just and comprehensive peace in the Middle region and to allow the Palestinian people self-determination and the establishment of an independent state in the occupied territories after liberation.

['Ajjaj] Events indicate that the Arab League moved to Egypt with the Arabs fragmented, leaving a negative impact on its performance at the present time. How can you get the League out of this dilemma?

[Al-Qadi] As a result of Arab practices within the Arab League, a group of loopholes clearly need to be dealt with, even should this require amendment of the charter to operate on the basis of majority [vote] rather than unanimity, so that League action is not impeded. If that cannot be done under current Arab League conditions, then new appendices can be added to the charter to get around the problem of the inability to amend it. We must investigate the proposal to build and establish a unified Arab parliament embodying the popular will of the Arab nation. We must establish an Arab court of justice, the proposal for which was submitted to the Arab League in 1977. It would have legal status and powers over member states, and its jurisdiction would be obligatory. This court would be responsible for hearing legal disputes and interpreting treaties, border disputes, and other matters. Present circumstances show an urgent need for such a court to resolve border disputes, halt immediate wars in particular, and other matters that arise from time to time between the Arab states.

[']Ajjaj] There are those who assert a need to review Egypt's relations with the Arab states in light of the Gulf crisis in the period ahead. What is your view of this formulation?

[Al-Qadi] Actually, the stage the Arab nation is presently passing through requires a restructuring of our relations

inspired by our policies calling for unification of Arab ranks and regrouping. This became clear in the bilateral accords on cooperation and coordination between Egypt and Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Libya, and Egypt and Syria. Cooperation between Egypt and Libya is viewed as having special importance by virtue of their geographic contiguity and the possibility of cooperation and swift support that each party can provide the other. It is essential that it succeed and that there be greater coordination in other fields.

The new Arab reality is exemplified by the existence of an international military presence in the Arab region having a specific Gulf crisis-related mission. As a result, the presence of an Arab political vacuum will leave the region exposed to political instability and imbalance leading to anarchy, indeed, to the destruction of the Arab order itself. This responsibility is perhaps clear to the three countries of Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Syria, which is why coordination, cooperation, and integration among them in political, economic, cultural, and media terms must take into consideration all of the new facts resulting from the Gulf crisis. The coming stage requires a new form of Arab solidarity based on new foundations, even though this requires that the three countries make use of their past reservoir of and experience in solidarity and joint Arab action.

[']Ajjaj] The issue of Arab national security is another of the issues that was exposed to damage as a result of the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. How can we overcome this damage once the crisis ends?

[Al-Qadi] We believe that there is a need to restore Arab solidarity as an absolutely essential step in strengthening Arab ranks and enabling the Arab nation to mobilize its energies and resources. Beginnings to this effect have already been made in recent years, including correcting the course of Egypt-Arab relations, Egypt's return to the Arab League, and then the return of Arab League headquarters to Cairo. However, the Iraqi invasion turned events upside down, creating a serious fissure in Arab solidarity and a severe and dangerous division in the Arab world about the crisis, its repercussions, and how to settle it. For this reason, in the future we must look at Arab national security in a more comprehensive manner whereby the organizing and husbanding of defensive capabilities to confront powers greedy for Arab land or wealth is put on an equal footing with Arab cooperation and integration. For this reason, Egypt will always be concerned with the Arab national security issue in an overall sense, because that is where its own national security lies, as a responsibility and mission imposed on it by the facts of history. Arab economic integration is the most important cornerstone for the achievement of Arab solidarity, especially as changing international conditions witness the emergence of economic entities, the most important being the European union expected in 1992. This imposes the need for the existence of an Arab economic entity which all the Arab states would cooperate to achieve. In this context there is a need to support

Arab funds to lift the Arab economy to meet these new changes, while working to establish a common Arab market.

[Ajaj] Among Arab problems and sources of tension that are raised is the situation in South Lebanon. Some fear that the situation there will be affected by the Gulf crisis. Is there a vision for ending the situation in South Lebanon?

[Al-Qadi] There is a need for all parties to help the Lebanese government to continue to implement the articles of the al-Ta'if Accord, including the assertion of Lebanese control over every bit of its national soil, by working to complete the elimination of military militias, establishing legitimate rule, and avoiding Lebanese involvement in the Gulf crisis one way or another. There is a need to implement Security Council Resolution 425 which calls for the withdrawal of Israeli forces from the border strip they occupy in South Lebanon.

Columnist Urges Basic Changes in Laws

91AA0258B London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 15 Mar 91 p 8

[Commentary by Mustafa Amin: "Patching No Longer Good Enough"]

[Text] The time has come to realize the demands of the Egyptian people with no further delay or procrastination.

We in Egypt have been living under an emergency system for 39 years. We must now begin thinking about reestablishing an ordinary system and about Egyptians enjoying what every democratic country in the world enjoys. In order to do that we must:

1. Invite the populace to elect a national council to prepare a new constitution to restore the rights the nation has been deprived of, placing the nation above the government, and making the rulers the servants of the country, not its masters.
2. Repealing the emergency law and amending the penalties law to establish deterrent penalties for anyone who violates the constitution or attempts to overthrow the authorities by force.
3. Repeal the nationalization of the press, the press law, and the Supreme Press Council, and stipulate that every citizen has the right to publish a newspaper even if it has only one reader.
4. Abolish the socialist prosecutor and the state security courts, unify the judiciary, and repeal all emergency laws.
5. Equality for all Egyptians in terms of rights and duties, abolishing discrimination between them, and repealing the allocation of half of the seats in the Consultative Council and the People's Assembly to workers and peasants.

6. Election of the governors in general elections.
7. Election of the shaykh of al-Azhar by a body of senior religious scholars.
8. Election of the vice president of the Republic at the same time as the president.
9. Stop restricting election of the president of the Republic to a single candidate. Rather, the elections should be open to any candidate possessing the qualifications for election.
10. Censorship agencies should be combined in a single agency; agencies opening the door to malfeasance and impeding and delaying work must not continue to increase.

These ten demands express the will of the nation and its desire to govern itself by itself, whereunder the government becomes responsible to the parliament and representatives realize that they are responsible to the people who elected them in free elections, without pressure or rigging.

Prosperity can only be achieved under genuine democracy. An investor will never feel comfortable about his money unless he knows there is absolute justice that makes no distinction between great and small or ruler and ruled, no laws with retroactive effect, no confiscation, and no nationalization.

If we wish to get out of this quandary, we must have the courage to change.

Patching is no longer good enough. It no longer works to write salt on the sugar jar to keep the ants out.

The people have grown up. They can live no longer under guardianship. They will no longer accept chains and shackles, even though we call them bracelets, necklaces, and earrings.

Writer Discusses Proposed Arab Bank for Development

91AA0292A Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 25 Mar 91 p 7

[Article by Dr. Sa'id al-Najjar]

[Text] Recently, there has been frequent mention of the idea of establishing an Arab bank for reconstruction and development, whose function would be to finance development projects in the Middle East region, patterned after the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development [World Bank], which performs this function on the world level, and similar to regional banks in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, and the European Bank, which was established recently to finance the transformation of the socialist system into a free-economy system in the Soviet Union and the Eastern European countries.

The idea of establishing a development bank in the Arab region arose at the height of the Gulf crisis in response to

the propaganda campaign waged by Saddam Husayn against the Gulf countries. This campaign aimed to exploit the great disparity between the Arab countries that enjoy excessive wealth and luxury and those that exist at the lowest levels of poverty and backwardness.

In treating this subject, one should no doubt start by examining existing Arab development organizations which perform a function similar to that of regional development banks. The first such organization that comes to mind is the Arab Fund for Economic and Social Development, which was established in the early seventies and began operating in the mid-seventies. With current capital including reserves totalling close to \$3 billion, which comprises the shares of governments of Arab countries, it can be viewed as an Arab equivalent to the World Bank and regional banks. Its primary concern is providing development aid in the form of soft loans to finance production projects in the Arab countries, especially the poorest. The Fund is particularly concerned with regional projects that span more than one Arab country and thus contribute to the development of inter-Arab cooperation. Since its establishment in 1987, it has financed 160 projects in 17 Arab countries and has provided loans totaling more than \$2.5 billion, of which 75 percent were soft and the balance in the form of nonsoft development assistance.

The question is: To what degree does the Arab Fund serve as a regional development bank? Clearly, similarities exist between the fund and regional development banks. Both are intergovernmental development organizations, and both provide loans to finance production projects in member countries. However, they differ from each other in many respects. Perhaps the most important difference is that regional development banks perform the role of intermediary between international financial markets and borrower countries, which is also a basic function of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. That means that the World Bank, like regional development banks, borrows in order to lend. The main source of loans that it provides is not the capital paid by the governments participating in it, but the proceeds of the loans that it raises with international financial markets, such as New York, Tokyo, Zurich, and Amsterdam.

An Arab bank for reconstruction and development does not necessarily have to assume the form of a new organization established alongside the Arab Fund. It would be more logical to develop the Arab Fund into an Arab bank for development. Such a bank, with \$30 million in capital, could actually be established without paying a single dollar more, based on the Arab Fund's current paid capital of about \$3 billion.

Loans made by such a proposed bank would certainly be on less soft terms than those made by the Arab Fund, because the proposed bank would depend primarily on borrowed funds, which it would not be able to lend for less than the cost of borrowing. As a rule, its loans would comprise the cost of borrowing plus about 50 percent to

cover its administrative expenses. The Arab Fund, by contrast, because it relies on its equity, which entails almost no cost, can lend on soft terms in most cases. In other words, the development of the Arab Fund in the direction of an Arab development bank would entail a large increase in loans granted to the Arab countries, but on less soft terms. Therefore, any examination of the establishment of such a bank would also have to look at the establishment of a facility for soft development aid, on the model of the International Development Association (IDA), which is in the World Bank. In that way, the envisaged Arab bank would specialize in lending to the middle-income Arab countries, such as Egypt, Syria, Jordan, Lebanon, and the Arab Maghreb countries, with the understanding that the said soft facility would apply in lending to the low-income Arab countries, such as Yemen, Sudan, Somalia, Djibouti, and Mauritania.

It is noted that U.S. Secretary of State James Baker was the first to suggest the establishment of an Arab development bank at the outset of the Gulf crisis. However, he spoke about a Middle Eastern bank, not an Arab bank. It seems that he had in mind that the membership of the proposed bank would be open not only to the Arab countries that are members of the Arab Fund, but also non-Arab Middle Eastern countries, such as Turkey, Iran, and especially Israel. Obviously, Israel's membership in such a development organization is inconceivable without assuming a comprehensive settlement of the Palestinian problem and the Arab-Israeli conflict. It is also noted that all other regional banks include, in addition to the countries of the region they serve, several industrialized countries concerned with development affairs in their respective regions. Thus, the United States, France, and Germany are members in the African Development Bank in addition to the African countries, and the Asian Development Bank includes Japan in addition to the Asian countries. This raises the issue of membership of countries outside the region in the new bank. In all probability, all or most of the permanent members of the Security Council would want to join in addition to the Arab countries. This issue is left to the Arab countries themselves. The important advantage of the presence of the major industrialized countries is their concern for development affairs in the region, their facilitation of the proposed bank's borrowing from their financial markets, and, most importantly, their contribution of shares to the sources of the soft loans facility that would be established in the bank.

Finally, the bank's administration would be based on the weighted vote system, as is the case in the World Bank and the Arab Fund, which means that the votes of each participating government would be in proportion to its share in the bank's capital. Needless to say, the overwhelming majority would have to comprise the Arab countries, among which the majority share would be held by countries having a high development capacity, such as Saudi Arabia and other Gulf countries. Non-Arab countries would have nominal shares. However, the important borrowing countries, such as Egypt, Syria, Morocco,

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and Algeria would have to enjoy respectable voting power and thus have a significant voice in the bank's administration and policies.

Editorial Criticizes American Political Contradictions

91AA0292B Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 25 Mar 91 p 7

[Text] It is well-known that the Gulf crisis occurred as the world order was entering a new, unprecedented phase, namely the shift from the cold war to international conciliation based on several basic axes, including the need to solve regional conflicts through negotiations rather than force, limits on conventional and unconventional arms arsenals, and struggle based on an exchange of interests rather than a balance of power.

The U.S. position has focused on these matters, and President Bush has emphasized that in his speeches and statements.

Hence, we may question the meaning of the new proposal to strengthen American arms exports by guaranteeing \$1 billion in deals to the credit of friendly states through the American Import/Export Bank. This proposal aims to improve the ability of American defense industries to compete in the markets, given that this process will lead to increased exports, especially to regions of conflict and wars in the Third World, particularly the Middle East.

Here, it is worth indicating that the friendly states at which the plan is aimed are specifically NATO members, Japan, and Australia, in addition to Israel. Does this program tally with current talk of peace and a solution to the Palestinian problem, or does American logic continue to suffer from inconsistency in dealing with this problem?

Balance and stability in the region require arms restrictions and the elimination of unconventional arms from the region, not an increase in the supply of arms, as was stated by the official White House spokesman. The American Government should be well aware of this, which requires that the United States not sacrifice international peace and security merely to secure markets for its arms exports.

ISRAEL

MK Sharon on Palestine, Judaea, Samaria

91AE0350B Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT in Hebrew 28 Mar 91 p 19

[Commentary by Knesset Member Ari'el Sharon]

[Text] The existence of a "Palestinian problem" as a national political problem is a propaganda lie, the product of systematic brain washing by the PLO helped along by cooperative leftists. Because since 1922 an

Arab-Palestinian state has existed in eastern Eretz Yisra'el, on two-thirds of Eretz Yisra'el Hashelema [Entire Land of Israel] or Greater Israel as the international community refers to it, with U.S. approval, and that is Jordan. In the Independence War its army together with the Iraqi Army occupied East Jerusalem, Judaea, and Samaria. In 1950 the Arabs on the two sides of Eretz Yisra'el jointly agreed to unite into one people and one state, and they were the state and the people who went to war against us in June 1967.

What is astonishing and very alarming is that the term Eretz Yisra'el Hashelema, which refers to the two banks of the Jordan—see the symbol of ETZEL ["We Must Fight"] (and the Herut movement)—is currently applied here only to western Eretz Yisra'el; in the Hebrew encyclopaedia the terms "Jordan" and "Transjordan" do not exist except as references to the volume and term "Eretz Yisra'el." The same applies to "Gaza Strip" and of course "Palestine."

As is known, even if we accept the absurd idea that the residents of western Eretz Yisra'el are Palestinians, Jordan is still the "Palestinian state in Eretz Yisra'el," since most of its inhabitants are originally from Judaea and Samaria; moreover, according to every customary geographical and historical definition, all those born on the east bank of the Jordan, including their present king, are authentic "Palestinians."

It is therefore natural that between 1948 and the Six-Day War no Arab dreamed of a "Palestinian state" in Judaea, Samaria, and Gaza and that the "territories," for whose "liberation" the PLO was established, were declared to be only areas of "old" Israel incorporated within the Green Line.

In western Eretz Yisra'el, on one-quarter only of Eretz Yisra'el Hashelema or Greater Israel, only the Jewish state has the space and right to exist. According to the 1947 UN Partition Plan, not only Judaea, Samaria, and Gaza, but also—and primarily—about half of the area of old Israel north of the Beersheba line belonged to an "Arab state." And indeed, for the United Nations (and the United States) the original and more important "occupied territories" were the corridor leading to Jerusalem, western and central Galilee, Yafo, Beersheba, Qiryat Gat, Ashqelon, Ashdod, Nahal Yiron, and all of Jerusalem (western Jerusalem, too). However, in 1947, by going to war to eradicate Israel and drown the Jews in the sea, the entire Arab people—and the Palestinian "people" first and as a part of it—irreversibly cancelled any right that decision may have bestowed on them.

To the national-historical argument, which is fundamental and eternal, but also quite separately and in itself we must add the objective-security argument. Thus, the areas of Judaea, Samaria, and Gaza, and the Golan Heights in the north must remain under our control in their entirety also in order to ensure elementary defense for the major population centers inside the Green Line. At another time we will discuss those "concepts" that

combine stupidity with premeditated, misleading, and professional irresponsibility by dismissing—of course for nobody else in the world but Israel—the value of depth in general and the importance of the “occupied territories” in particular.

In the meantime all wars—primarily the Six-Day War, Desert Storm, and the Yom Kippur War even more so—have demonstrated that any territorial concession is a proven recipe for national destruction. The danger of occupation and direct destruction by enemy artillery and ground divisions is worse by far than that of ground-to-ground missiles, and I am the last person to underestimate the serious threat of the latter.

Consequently, I fear that the government's initiative—which is nothing but the compromise plan with the Alignment in the 1989 coalition government—presents grave, unacceptable dangers. The first and perhaps the worst mistake consists of the very agreement to now place the Palestinian issue at the head of the list of priorities instead of the two problems that are far more serious, important, and urgent: halting and cutting back the demented arms race in our area and ensuring some first steps toward real democratization in the Arab regimes.

The second general mistake is inherent in the plan itself, especially in the idea of “elections.” Let us not deceive ourselves: In the present conditions, any elections, be they only “municipal,” will immediately and automatically lead to the creation of an authorized and recognized Arab political entity. In its turn, with our unavoidable agreement and undoubtedly with support from the United States and the rest of the world, that will soon inescapably lead to the establishment of a second Arab-Palestinian state in Eretz Yisra'el. Such a state in whatever form, but not even going that far, even the loss of our full and exclusive control of its areas can mean only one thing: the death sentence for the State of Israel, either by slow torture or in one big blow.

Consequently, if for tactical or other reasons the government is not capable or does not wish to pull out of the “1989 plan,” it should at least eradicate the dangers it contains by taking the following steps:

First, the most urgent problem against which all the other problems pale—because none other is more threatening to us and to peace in our area and even in the world—is the problem of the monstrous arming of the Arab countries beginning with Syria and Libya.

Second, avoid any initiative of our own and turn down any outside initiative designed to start the process of autonomy or the creation of an Arab representation and entity in certain areas. Those are all the areas and territories in which, if we are unable to deploy first and to have full freedom of operational maneuver and action, the Israeli centers inside the Green Line will be defenseless. Those areas are: Biq'at Hayarden, southern Judaea, the immediate Jerusalem surroundings, the strip adjacent to the coastal plain on the east, the dominant

areas and those free of Arab villages on the mountain ridge, the connecting axes between those areas and Israeli centers, as well as all the edges of the Gaza Strip and the security “fingers” established in it, and of course the entire Golan Heights.

Third, ensure that giving autonomy to Judaea, Samaria, and Gaza Strip Arabs will be accompanied by a parallel and gradual or a preliminary annexation of those areas vital to Israel and currently settled by Jews, as the only real guarantee that autonomy will not turn into a Palestinian state and a base from which to erode the State of Israel until its annihilation.

And of course, expose the delusion of “Palestinian rights.” We must clearly state through the authoritative voice of the government and Knesset: Jordan was and is the Palestinian state in Eretz Yisra'el. We already have to put up with this division of Eretz Yisra'el and with losing most of it to Arab rule. We should not put up with the ruse of constantly and falsely creating new “Arab peoples,” just as we must not agree to the eradication of existing ones, like denying the Kuwaitis' rights as an entity by Palestinians and other Arabs. The only real problem today is exactly what it was in the past: the safe existence of the Jewish state west of the Jordan, alongside the Arab-Palestinian state east of the Jordan.

Editorial Discusses Water Pricing Policy

91AE0357A Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 15 Mar 91
p 1B

[Text] The Mekorot company (water company) owes the electric company 43 million new shekels, as of today, and the bill for electricity consumption will rise on 20 March to about 60 million new shekels, a considerable sum in any opinion. It is no wonder that the electric company has begun lately to cut the current from some plants connected with the Mekorot water pumping project. As far as the electric company is concerned, Mekorot is a customer like any other customer and must pay its bills.

The fact that because of these punitive measures the consumers of water, who are not responsible for the money owed, are likely to be hurt, is not the electric company's business. But this situation creates a string of problems between Mekorot and its customers and between the company and those who dictate the framework for its activities. Mekorot claims that it cannot pay the debt as long as the Ministry of Finance does not hand over the money it owes the company.

The amazing and worrisome thing in all this process is the fact that it has been happening regularly for two years now. Every few months the electric company announces that because of nonpayment of Mekorot's bill it will be forced to cut the current to its plants, and after several days it actually does this. Or a public commotion arises, out of fear that the steady water supply will be disrupted, and here the Minister of Finance enters the picture,

hands over part of the sum to cover the bill, the bill accumulates anew—and the whole thing happens again.

Usually the cutoffs of electricity to Mekorot's plants do not seriously hamper the effective functioning of the water company, and the consumers are not harmed significantly. Except that this time the situation seems more serious. Yesterday the current had already been cut to about 150 pumping installations, and if salvation does not come soon, that is to say—if the Ministry of Finance does not settle the debt, or at least part of it—the citizens are likely to feel, in their faucets, the conflict between the electric company, "Mekorot," and the Ministry of Finance.

All this seems like a bureaucratic dispute between three government bodies, with the innocent consumer being sacrificed. This is not exactly accurate.

First of all, some of the consumers, and particularly the largest consumers of water, are involved in one way or another. Second, with the chronic delays in transferring the funds, the Ministry of Finance is not trying to pressure Mekorot itself, but rather other bodies: the Knesset water commission (joint commission of the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Economics and Development), whose function is to set consumer water prices; and the agricultural lobby which energetically keeps water prices for agriculture from being updated in accordance with real cost.

It may be that within the Mekorot company, too, there is room for action to increase efficiency. Claims of inflated staff operations and execution of unnecessary projects are not new. We will not be able to know this, as long as the national water company is not capable of functioning economically. But it is already clear that the company's continuous deficit and difficulties in paying its main supplier—the electric company—are caused by lack of updating of the water prices that the company is responsible for collecting from its customers, and particularly from the largest of them—the agricultural customer. As long as that customer does not pay a price which approaches the real cost of the water it consumes, Mekorot will not be able to function as an economically sound organization, and the disgraceful spectacles of the tremendous unpaid electric bills, and of the cutting off of electricity to the company's pumping installations, will continue.

This is one more good reason for changing water pricing policy, and especially agricultural water prices. The other good reason is the growing difficulty of water management in Israel and the wastage of water which the present prices cause. The two reasons together are certainly cause enough to take a stand against the pressure of the agricultural lobby which in the end lays the payment for the cheap water for agriculture not on the Ministry of Finance but on every one of us, as tax payers.

Clearly, a change in the way the company which supplies most of the water for the State of Israel is run will have a real influence on the entire economy and especially on

the farmers, for whom the price of water is important and sometimes pivotal in deciding what they will grow and what its price will be. Therefore we must strive to bring about careful structural change, taking into account possible harm and allowing those who may be harmed to be prepared. And in the meantime, the economic ministers must come to an agreement that will enable Mekorot to function without rolling its difficulties onto the average consumers.

LEBANON

Broadcasting Dimension of Internal Conflicts Viewed

91AE0335A London *AL-HAYAH* in Arabic 9, 10 Mar 91

[Article in two installments by Hasan Falahah: "Five Private Lebanese Broadcasting Stations, Ramparts on Air of Internal Disintegration"]

[9 Mar p 8]

[Text] There can be no doubt but that the audio broadcast media participated in the Lebanese War, serving as a fundamental element in the ranks of the contesting parties for 16 years. The struggle among those parties was not restricted to confrontation line battles, alleyway clashes, kidnappings, assassinations, and eliminations, but included stoning one another with propaganda through the media. Private broadcasting stations sprouted like mushrooms during the war, giving a clear, audible image of the country's disintegration. The absence of official Lebanese radio, originally established in 1938 whose listenership fell to 6 percent, allowed the private stations to capture about 73 percent of the listening audience.

Stations became so widespread that someone driving his car in heavy traffic from al-Kula Circle to the beginning of al-Hamra' Street in Beirut could while away his time listening to any number of them. Every quarter hour one radio station or another would be broadcasting a news summary, while the types of news and methods of delivery were just as numerous as the stations themselves.

The words used to describe a single event differ; take the term Israeli "occupation" of part of South Lebanon, for example. While Voice of the Nation (al-Maqasid Islamic Charitable Association (MICA)), Voice of the Mountain (Druze), or Voice of the People (Communist) uses the word "occupation," Free Lebanon radio (Lebanese Forces) simply uses the neutral word "presence."

Voice of Lebanon

The Phalangist Voice of Lebanon is considered the first private radio station to begin operating in Lebanon, having been established in May 1958 at the time of the events that occurred when the late Camille Sham'un's era was ending. It continued to operate for six months,

then closed down in October of the same year at the beginning of the era of President Fu'ad Shihab and formation of the "quadripartite government." These events provide an image in miniature of the sectarian, political, and media separatism that now exists. At that stage, the station operated on one-half kilowatt of power, covering Beirut during the daytime, but increasing signal strength in the evening to reach Cyprus, North Syria, and parts of Turkey. It transmitted from the residence of Joseph Abu-Khalil, the Phalangist official in Mahallat al-Rumayl in east Beirut, but sometimes it would be moved to a number of [other] locations suitable for transmitting, especially the town of Badadun (Southern al-Matin). It was under the supervision of Abu-Khalil and the present director of news and editing at Voice of Lebanon, Ilyas Karam. At that time programs were limited to certain commentary and news items. There were three news broadcasts daily, at 0715, 1415, and 1915 hours, in addition to songs that had been written specifically to suit that stage. The station's slogan from that time, "the voice of freedom and dignity," continues to be in use today.

The second stage of serious broadcasting began toward the end of 1975, the year the Lebanese situation exploded.

Regarding how the station returned to operation, Karam says: "One night that same year we were publishing the newspaper al-'Amal (official organ of the Phalangist party) at the Good Shepherd Secondary School in al-Ashrafiyah, when Shaykh Pierre Jumayyil, founder of the Phalangists, contacted us to ask that we revive Voice of Lebanon radio, because the activities and distribution of newspapers were foundering, while news broadcasts from foreign stations were dominating and falsely depicting the Lebanese crisis."

Here the old [transmitter] was put back in operation. It was still near the Good Shepherd Secondary School, from where it resumed broadcasting until 1978, when the al-Ashrafiyah district witnessed what is known as the "Hundred Days" War between Syrian forces and the Lebanese Forces commanded by Shaykh Bashir al-Jumayyil, later to be elected president of the Republic. This required that some of the transmitting equipment be moved to the Kisrawan district. The editor's office also moved there, and continued to operate for two months before going back to al-Ashrafiyah.

Karam, a station supervisor since establishment as well as its lawyer, says that it received a license from the Lebanese government in accordance with Lebanese and international laws and practices under a decree entitled "Voice of Lebanon."

In the late 1970's and early 1980's, [Voice of Lebanon] had its golden age in terms of program variety and the speed with which news reached the listener. It began to cover some Western and European countries, reach parts of the United States and the Soviet Union, and had a network of correspondents in these countries.

The event which gave Voice of Lebanon its largest scoop, domestically and internationally, was uncovering the disappearance of the president of the Supreme Shi'ite Islamic Council in Lebanon, Imam Musa al-Sadr, in late August 1979.

In 1983, the station moved to its present location in al-Ashrafiyah, a 15-story building purposely constructed to meet every broadcasting requirement, complete with all equipment and instrumentation. A transmitting station was built in the al-Kafur district (Kisrawan) to relay signals from there.

There are nearly 180 employees in the station, including those who work with it at the branches. It is overseen by a board of directors chaired by the director general, Shaykh Simon al-Khazin, with branches covering several sectors: editorial, commercial, management, and technical.

Voice of Lebanon has produced a number of prominent media people, such as William Ghanim, Yula Sulayman, Michel Marun, and Sa'id Ghurayyib. During the periods of direct transmission and arts programs, Maggie Farah, Angelique Mu'nis, and Wardah, became prominent. The latter became famous for a number of programs, the most important being "Saturday Salon" which started off as a program dealing with specific social issues, but three years ago became a political program most closely resembling a trial. This program is under the immediate supervision of the general director to ensure it maintains the station's general political line. This program usually hosts politicians and militia commanders from the eastern and western districts and enjoys a large listening audience. Voice of Lebanon radio has a variety of programming in a number of areas, the most prominent being the arts programs, followed by social, cultural, and then political programs.

In the view of Program Director George Mughamis, program variety is always a function of "the stages of war and peace, the types of programming appropriate to each, and is, therefore, consistent in direction with the political course and line taken by the station."

Regarding reasons for the dominance of arts and social programs, Mughamis refers to the security aspect of the station, which is to attempt to place the citizen in a peaceful environment, leaving pessimistic surroundings for optimism.

Cultural programs on the Voice of Lebanon are generally limited to Lebanese domestic matters, in order of priority, rather than going beyond the country's borders, specifically, to point out Lebanese culture in matters of art, poetry, and literature. This is what falls within the political line defined for the station.

One distinguished social program on Voice of Lebanon is "Between Citizen and Official," which listens to the complaints of citizens and relays them directly to officials to be dealt with and resolved. Having previously

been presented by Tony Mafraj, then Khalil Sasi, it is now introduced by Rebecca Abu-Nadir.

However, due to the war situation, this program is largely limited to residents of the eastern part of the capital. Voice of Lebanon was the forerunner among local stations in preparing such programs.

The station's arts programs are prepared and presented by a select group of Lebanese involved in the arts, including Antoine Kurbaj, Wafa' Tarbiyah, Karim Abu-Shaqra, 'Umar al-Zayn, Wasim Tabarah, and Muhammad Shabaru, who were previously employed in the official Lebanese broadcasting system, in addition to newcomers who rose through Voice of Lebanon, such as Wardah (Mrs. Rose Zamil) who is now in charge of the commercial department and prepares the station's arts program "May Every Sunday Find You Well," along with an earlier program which she presented at the beginning of her broadcasting career on Voice of Lebanon, and "Do Not Pay Attention, Unless We Pay Attention to You."

Arts, cultural, and social programs directed within a limited framework are generally prepared by the director of programs or management. In addition, there are purely political programs; these are generally few and are supervised by the politburo of the Phalangist party. They include "Free Opinion," prepared and presented by attorney Salah Matar, a member of the party's politburo, which addresses a specific local issue with commentary from a Phalangist, and "Hot Issues," in which Dr. Ibrahim Risha discusses regional and international topics and their impact on the Lebanese situation.

Voice of Lebanon broadcasting is distinct in being the only local station broadcasting 24 hours a day. It offers about 23 news broadcasts and summaries on the latest developments.

During the recent battles of last year between the "Lebanese Forces" and the Lebanese army, Voice of Lebanon broadcasting was subjected to severe bombing, forcing a large number of workers to leave it, while another group leaned towards the side of the former commander of the army, General Michel 'Awn. The station subsequently suffered a period of stagnation, before it started to regain its previous position with obviously weakened transmission.

In the field of advertising, Voice of Lebanon is considered a leader, in particular because a significant number of its local advertisements are prepared in the trade and advertising department. They have a particular spirit and style that immediately sets them apart, even when played over another station. These advertisements certainly bring in generous profits to the station to meet a major portion of its expenses.

Voice of the Nation

A pedestrian in the streets of West Beirut is not surprised to be blocked by people hovering around a radio in front

of a shop or in a parked car listening to the news from MICA's Voice of the Nation, especially on days when prominent security incidents are occurring. Even in a single neighborhood no more than a few meters long, it has become commonplace to hear several radios on balconies or in coffee shops playing the same program or news broadcast which you quickly realize is Voice of the Nation. The Lebanese listener often finds he has the station's musical theme and special slogan running through his mind, giving it a definite religious and sectarian stamp. This is not due to its cultural or religious programs, but because it is directly affiliated with MICA, headed by Tammam Salam, son of the Lebanese leader and former prime minister, Sa'ib Salam. Most of the station's management belongs to this group, although a large number of persons of other sects and doctrines also work there.

This station began transmitting from one of the MICA schools in the Burj Abu-Haydar district on May 31, 1984, just as Ramadan began, on 1134 kilohertz on the medium wave band under the callsign "Voice of the Nation, al-Maqasid Broadcasting from Beirut."

At first the programs were only religious in nature, then variety programs began and gradually expanded to various other kinds. It then adopted the information program of MICA which was formed in recent years.

In discussing its origins, the station's general manager, Mr. Muhammad Karim, says: "In the sweep of events, particularly once private stations arose expressing conflicting political views, beliefs, and proposals, there had to be a rational attentive voice that stood up to call for unity and mutual coexistence within the Lebanese national Islamic line, refusing to allow broadcasting to take a narrow or doctrinal course."

Supervisors and managers of the station and its affairs are primarily drawn from the first rank of Lebanese broadcasters, such as Mr. Karim (who still is); Muhammad al-Mashnuq, chairman of the oversight committee; Mr. Sa'd Sami Ramadan, director of programs; and others.

The employees, of whom there are about 125, have been mostly trained at the Voice of the Nation (their salaries range between 50,000 and 250,000 Lebanese lira monthly). Seventy percent of them enjoy health and social insurance as employees of the Voice of the Nation Corporation which is licensed by the state. The broadcasting is still unlicensed, as is most private broadcasting in Lebanon. MICA has assumed the guarantee of medical treatment for these employees at al-Maqasid Hospital. It is no secret that the financial revenue from advertisements at Voice of the Nation does not cover its deficit. That has to be made up by MICA which provided all of the transmitting equipment brought from Switzerland and Germany to outfit the present transmission station at Tallat al-Khayyat.

Voice of the Nation Broadcasting is supervised by a board of directors chaired by MICA's chairman of the

board of trustees, Mr. Tammam Salam, who in turn oversees the broadcasting through the general overseer and the general manager. Subsumed under the board of directors are the editing, programming, maintenance, and technical departments, and the commercial and advertising department.

The most important division is editing where nearly 30 employees work in three periods of daily transmission covering 10 hours. Decisions concerning how the station will deal with events and the news are taken at weekly meetings chaired by the general manager, in addition to continuous senior editorial supervision of the five news broadcasts and 17 summaries.

Karim points out that Voice of the Nation places objectivity in relaying news above getting a journalistic scoop in order not to lose credibility and the confidence of listeners. It upholds its journalistic trust, and this is why "some accuse us of taking the classical approach to dealing with the news." According to a survey conducted by the Management Research organization on a sample of all classes of Lebanese, 57 percent consider the station to be truthful, frank, and comprehensive. An even higher percentage, 76 percent, consider it to be frank and objective.

The 40 programs of Voice of the Nation are distinguished in that the cultural and literary aspects are dominant over arts and politics. It is clearly concerned with Islamic religious and heritage programming. Most of these are controlled and carefully thought out in the programming department, including periods of direct broadcast which is under the immediate supervision of Program Director Ramadan.

Voice of the Nation programs clearly show that the station "maintains its dignity to the utmost extent," as Ramadan puts it, adding: "the goal of these programs is first of all to educate, then entertain, the Lebanese listener who suffered so much because of 16 years of warfare."

Another obvious aspect of Voice of the Nation's annual programming is that it has adopted a five-season approach, rather than four seasons like the other stations, by assigning overriding importance to the month of Ramadan. Special programs are prepared that are distinct from those of other months, with uninterrupted 24-hour transmission daily to cover the predawn meal, the fasting period, the sunset breakfast, calls to prayer, and all Islamic religious celebrations.

It can truthfully be said that Voice of the Nation attempts to observe and treat all Islamic religious rites equally. Every year it transmits Shi'ite festivals, such as the central 'Ashura' celebration held on 10 Muharram at al-Amiliyah school in West Beirut.

This direction stood out clearly when the station announced it would observe three days of mourning at the beginning of June 1989 when Imam al-Khomeini, first leader of the Iranian revolution, died. At that time,

programs were restricted to recitation of the Koran and news broadcasts, while regular programs were halted.

There are many permanent religious programs, including the "Recitation and Exegesis Program" presented by the successful announcer Hind 'Ajuz, who sometimes presents arts programs.

There is also the weekly program "So Islam Instructed Us," or the program "Islamic Encyclopedia," which devotes each of its installments to one of Islam's companions of the prophet who played a role in the dissemination of the Islamic mission, and the transmission of Friday prayer directly from one of Beirut's mosques.

Another notable aspect is Voice of the Nation's refusal to broadcast any advertisements it deems contrary to Islam, such as alcoholic beverages, the lottery, Lotto, and the like, although as one of the workers in advertising says, this causes a significant amount of lost income.

Religious programs do not have a special time or wavelength, but occur within other arts programs. Detractors fail to conceal their derision when they hear the noon prayer suddenly followed by the announcer leading them into some particular song by Samirah Sa'id or "Latifah al-Tunsiyah," in other words "a hot gift and a cold gift."

In its arts programs, the Voice of the Nations is unique in its attention to old music and songs, such as the "Heritage Club," "Our Arabic Music," prepared and presented by Tawfiq al-Basha who deals with the famous Arabic literary form of maqamah, which he explains and interprets, or "The Loveliest of Melodies," which focuses on eastern melodies and is prepared by the program director.

Generally speaking, the station has few dramatic programs. One worker in the field attributes this to the small number of radio writers and actors, although when the station first began its mission it was dealing with a number of Lebanese artists, including Wahid Jalal, 'Abdal-Majid Majdhub, 'Imad Farid, Ibrahim Mar'ashli, Muhammad Shamil, and others.

New radio personalities have become prominent through Voice of the Nation, including Hind 'Ajuz, Hadi Hibali, and Jumanah al-Nunu. According to statistics recently gathered by the Management Research organization, Voice of the Nation listeners are distributed as follows: workers and free trades [self-employed], 62 percent; housewives, 46.6 percent; employees and professionals, 44.5 percent; and students, 44.3 percent.

[10 Mar 91 p 8]

[Text] In late January 1984, Walid Junblatt, head of the Progressive Socialist Party (PSP), urgently asked the party's information bureau to begin operating the broadcasting station that had been equipped in the town of Shanayh near Sawfar within 10 days in view of swift-breaking political and security events being witnessed in the country at that time.

NEAR EAST

On February 1 of the same year, Voice of the Mountain Broadcasting began transmission on its operating frequency of 1080 kilohertz, calling for mobilization against the rule of former Republic president, Amin al-Jumayyil, and against the Lebanese Forces which had taken over most of Mount Lebanon when the Israelis moved in, thereby preparing the way for the uprising that broke out five days later and came to be known as the February Sixth Uprising carried out by the Amal Movement and the PSP.

This broadcasting station played a prominent role in relaying military communiques and reports to those in the uprising regarding the progress of battles under way on Mount Lebanon and in the western part of the capital, Beirut. This was the station's golden age when it enjoyed a broad public listening audience of Muslims and Druze, because official and even private media had adopted the state's position on the events and were expressing its point of view.

At the beginning, Voice of the Mountain programs were limited to political broadcasts presented by individuals and workers who appeared to have little experience in the media field before the station developed into what it is now.

However that may be, Voice of the Mountain is considered the mouthpiece of the PSP which directly supervises it through its politburo, specifically in the person of one of its members, Ghazi al-'Aridi, the general manager and a close confidante of PSP chief Junblatt.

The station's nearly 110 workers and employees enjoy private insurance that covers medical care and financial assistance of PSP functionaries, especially since most of them (60 percent) are party members, the remainder being supporters and partisans.

The news division is the most prominent, since under the institution's organizational structure it is directly supervised by the general manager who determines broadcast policy via regular meetings with employees of the editorial division, numbering about 16 editors and broadcasters. The station's general direction is to reflect the PSP's political stance. This includes overseeing political programs and some arts programs which for the most part are directed at objectives promoting PSP purposes and aspirations. As a result, every cultural, social, economic, and even historical, item comes within a studied policy and specific guideline.

By way of noninclusive example, social programs usually deal with problems and issues involving Mount Lebanon, throwing the problem out to Mount Lebanon's "civil administration," which is politically and administratively part of the PSP, not the Lebanese state (such as "In the Citizen's Service"). As a result, problems and issues of this district assume greater importance than those elsewhere. Even programs on heritage and traditions, such as "Heritage Treasures," are more concerned with the traditions and customs inherited in Mount

Lebanon than any other region, most of the time without directly saying so, of course.

Political programs are broader and more comprehensive than other programs, but remain within the party tendency, such as "The Situation This Week," a program presented every Wednesday evening in the form of a weekly interview with the PSP's permanent secretary who discusses events and developments from a party perspective. There is also the program "Personality and Opinion," presented three times weekly, hosting personalities who express their opinions on a specific topic which is usually in keeping with the station's position. To this one may add regular political commentary presented by the station's general manager or PSP officials, as well as such special programs as "Voice of the Fighter" which discusses conditions, matters, and demands of PSP fighting men, more like a private forum where these individuals can express their thoughts and ideas.

To tell the truth, the quality of these programs has left listener loyalty to Voice of the Mountain Broadcasting restricted to a specific group, to Mount Lebanon (with its Druze majority), and to some parts of the Biqa' where transmissions are received clearly. This is shown by the advertisers and those targeted by advertising, most of which are concentrated on institutions, shops, and markets inside Mount Lebanon, especially in the districts of al-Shuf and 'Alayh, rather than on markets in the capital, unlike its other colleagues. As a result, these advertisements bring in a relatively reasonable profit for the station to meet some expenses, but the civil administration and PSP information office pay the largest share of them.

In exchange, the station has tried to open up more to other regions through programs that deal with issues of everyday life, such as Voice of the South from Voice of the Mountain, Voice of the North from Voice of the Mountain, Voice of the Biqa' from Voice of the Mountain, and Voice of Beirut from Voice of the Mountain.

There are 18 hours of transmission per day, interrupted by 23 news broadcasts and summaries daily. The method of presenting the news is characterized by a sharpness that heeds no one, including the government. As witness to this, one recalls the rule of former President Amin al-Jumayyil, for whom the station devised a number of epithets and descriptions, including the "Somoza of B'abda," the "Shah of B'abda," and the "sick head."

Elsewhere, al-'Aridi points to the recent opening up to the eastern district by using a broad network of correspondents to follow political, social, and cultural events there, and to establish a stronger, firmer linkage with it.

He refers to the presence of a number of problems facing the station, including two major ones. The first is its distance from the capital, and therefore from the decision center, leaving it confined to a specific area unable to follow events except through its office in the capital (in the Mar Ilyas district). This office has about seven

employees who collect the news and supply it to Shanayh via facsimile and a private line to the station, in addition to telephone lines. This site was selected as a result of the "Mount Lebanon War" in 1983 because it was remote from the areas surrounded by the former Lebanese regime, enabling it to highlight and clarify the facts from its own perspective.

The second problem is that of the cadre of media personnel working in the mother station, in addition to political interviews and symposia which demand speedy work. This is linked to the first [problem of distance]. Rihab Abu-al-Hasan, (representative, 24), who has been working in the station for four years says: "Voice of the Mountain programs are dominated by [political] direction, not entertainment or culture, but there is improvement in this area that includes more prominent programs and subjects, all of which is dependent on issues of war and peace. The programs it prepares and presents occasionally include investigations to relay people's concerns and demands to officials and let their voices be heard by them, all done in an honest, spontaneous manner." Abu-al-Hasan adds that Voice of the Mountain is by and for the people, while relations at the station are those of "brothers and colleagues, not those of an entrenched hierarchy between employee and manager."

Her colleague Nihad Khayr shares her view, saying: "Working at the station is like working in one family. One employee is no different than another, except with regard to the division of responsibilities so that work can be kept going in an orderly manner." He points out that "the employee, apart from an acceptable salary by comparison with other media institutions, receives additional assistance to meet the difficulties of living in this country."

Free Lebanon

Every 15 minutes before the hour these days, Free Lebanon Broadcasting of the Lebanese Forces headed by the minister of state, Dr. Samir Ja'ja', updates one on the latest items in its newsbag concerning the "Karami government" as it terms the government of President 'Umar al-Karami, assigning it a special file in every newscast, summary, and feature and detailing every item of business it is submitting or delaying.

The station has developed another file, which it broadcasts every other newscast, on security in the area of the two Matns where the legitimate Lebanese authorities imposed control with the assistance of Syrian forces on October 13 of last year. The district was entered by Syria's two allies, the Syrian Social Nationalist Party—Emergency Wing—headed by 'Isam al-Mahayiri, and forces of the Executive Agency belonging to Elie Hubayqah, both implacable foes of the Lebanese Forces. The station assigns these two files priority over domestic and Gulf news, contrary to its colleagues which prioritize the presentation of news based on the various affiliations of their Lebanese listeners. This [trend] reaches its peak in the commentary on these events and news items in the

famous program "Politics in the Sieve" which is studiously prepared to express the "Lebanese Forces position" on current developments in the Lebanese arena in a sharp manner that frequently includes attack and ridicule.

Free Lebanon Broadcasting was established on September 30, 1978, during the "Hundred Days War" between Syrian forces and the Lebanese Forces, headed by its founder, Bashir al-Jumayyil. The station was so-named by the late Lebanese foreign minister, Dr. Charles Malik, in a meeting at his home with Bashir al-Jumayyil and a number of Lebanese Forces general officers, including Sam'an al-Quzayy who was assigned by al-Jumayyil to assume station management. Bearing the name Free Lebanon Broadcasting/Lebanese Resistance Broadcasting, it began transmitting in the Adonis district in the environs of Juniyah (somewhat distant from the military theater of operations between the Syrians and the Lebanese Forces at that time) on 1476 kilohertz on the medium-wave band, using a transmitter that had been donated by certain West German parties to express their support for the Lebanese Forces.

This transmitter and a backup remained in operation until they were replaced on March 12, 1986, by a modern 100-kilowatt transmitter operating on 963 kilohertz on the medium-wave band covering almost all of Lebanon and parts of Syria and Cyprus. Lebanese Forces at this stage had taken over the 'Amshit Transmitting Station, part of official Lebanese broadcasting whose main building was located in the al-Sana'i district next to the government palace in West Beirut.

Free Lebanon Broadcasting has a transmitter in the village of al-'Adhra (a mountain village in Kisrawan) which begins broadcasting with a Holy Mass every day at six in the morning and closes down at one after midnight, averaging 19 hours per day without stop. It has three main newscasts in Arabic, two in French, and two in English, in addition to 14 Arabic language summaries and three each in English and French.

The Lebanese Forces oversees broadcasting policy through its Central Media Office which defines the general political direction to which the station is committed. Supervision goes beyond newscasts and political programs to include programs related to daily life and social affairs that serve the overall direction of the Forces. One indication of this is the daily program "Observation Tower" which is coordinated by officials at the station and popular agencies in the Forces. It discusses problems of all people, their everyday issues, even crowded traffic in the areas under the control of the Lebanese Forces, although it sometimes discusses problems affecting Forces areas as well as other areas, or problems of a comprehensive nature.

Political oversight of the station by the Forces, already in effect on the news, extends to other programs. In one program, entitled "What About Politics," Dr. Tawfiq

al-Hindi, political affairs counselor to Forces commanders, discusses Forces stands on new political developments from a Forces perspective. In addition, Christian religious programs are frequently prominent at the station, such as "A Meeting With God" presented by Fr. Yusuf al-Ashqar, or "What After Death" and other programs with a special Christian imprint.

There are about 125 workers and employees in Free Lebanon Broadcasting, most of whom are Forces elements, supporters, and partisans, distributed throughout six directorates and departments, such as the Political Department, Program and Reports Department, Technical Department, Commercial and Advertising Department, and the Management Department, in addition to representatives, correspondents, and building guards.

Most of the employees in the news section trained at Free Lebanon Broadcasting according to an announcement by one of its officials who pointed out that Free Lebanon "had become a school in its own right in the broadcasting and media field in Lebanon."

The political department remains the most important because it is the link between the Forces media department, sometimes even personally with the Forces commander, Minister Ja'ja', and the news and editorial section.

Free Lebanon Broadcasting and Forces Television (The Lebanese Organization for Broadcasting) coordinate news broadcasts so that the television evening news is transmitted on the radio every evening at eight. In addition, a number of employees work in both organizations at the same time, especially in the news and program sections.

Free Lebanon Broadcasting is totally reliant on the Forces' National Fund to cover its costs and fund projects, while advertising plays an important role in meeting some expenses. It is considered a station well-endowed with advertisements, although they bear a partisan imprint that expresses the "special nature of the Christian community."

A joint-stock company was formed with the name Free Lebanon Broadcasting, S.A.L., and officially registered with the concerned departments on April 24, 1986, under number 22338, although like most of Lebanon's private stations, it is neither legal nor legitimate. The station's stock is owned by a number of prominent members of the Lebanese Forces' Information Office, the National Fund, and Free Lebanon Broadcasting.

Voice of the People

Voice of the People Broadcasting is considered one of the prominent private stations in the western sector of Beirut. Its ownership is in the hands of the Lebanese Communist Party which oversees it politically and administratively through a partisan agency delegated by its politburo.

It transmits its programs on two medium wavelengths (936 and 1188 kilohertz AM) and short wave (103.6 megahertz FM).

The station officially opened on February 1, 1987, in Beirut, following a period of simple trial transmission limited to some political and news programs from inside the al-Nida' Newspaper Building, the Communist Party's daily mouthpiece located in the al-Witwat district (al-Sana'i').

The station began humbly, and during this stage the working cadres and core of all the sections were prepared. At the outset it occupied only two rooms in this building.

An important point is that in mid-February 1987 the Communist newspaper and radio station witnessed the violence of the first bullets in the fiercest battle in the western part of the capital between the Shi'ite Amal Movement on one side, and the Lebanese Communist Party and its Druze ally, the PSP, on the other. The al-Witwat district was exposed to many attacks by elements of Amal seeking to occupy the station and newspaper building because of declarations being broadcast by Voice of the People at the time on behalf of forces opposing Amal. As a result, the station gained the attention of a large number of leftists, communists, and other currents moving in that orbit.

At this time, the station moved to the coastal village of al-Rumaylah, north of Sidon. The village, whose Christian majority abandoned it when fighting broke out between the PSP and the Lebanese Forces during the War of Mount [Lebanon] in 1983, fell to PSP control before coming under the care of the Lebanese Communist party.

For its coverage of events and the news during this stage, the station began to employ broadcast monitoring and an office in Beirut which provided it with information and the latest developments via a facsimile machine. However, distance between the home station in al-Rumaylah and the central office in the capital made communication between them difficult due to technical and security conditions. This compelled station officials in late 1988 to construct an eight-story headquarters for it in the Waty-al-Musaybah district of the capital. At this time it is still under construction to begin broadcasting on its wavelength. It now operates in Lebanon 18 hours daily, covering South Lebanon, some parts of northern Palestine, and the district of Mount Lebanon to the Biqa' where there is an FM station that duplicates it to strengthen the signal to cover the northern region except for the most remote areas of Shakka and al-Batrun.

The station has nearly 120 employees in all departments, including 40 in the news department, who are in turn distributed across sections for editing, broadcasting, and monitoring. It also includes correspondents and representatives in Lebanese districts who feed it with news and information.

Most of the workers in these departments are young people between 20 and 40 years of age. According to one official at Voice of the People, 45 percent of the institution's workers are not members of the Communist Party, but follow a similar inclination in their aspirations and principles, as he puts it.

The technical and maintenance department is second in importance to the news department and distributed within three transmitting stations in Beirut, al-Shuwayfat, and al-Biq'a.

According to its information director, Tony Francis, broadcast programs are objectively directed at the Lebanese people of all sects and classes within the nationalist tendencies and principles to which the station is committed. It upholds its journalistic trust and professional honor with permanent impartiality and neutrality. As a result, its programs are numerous and varied, treating all issues. In this context, it raises issues of economics and daily life in nearly 30 percent of its programs, and they are clearly more prominent in its news broadcasts than in other local stations. Cultural programs account for nearly 10 percent of general programming, not to mention specialized programs unique to the station such as "With Prisoners and Detainees" which is broadcast weekly in the evening. It consists of interviews with the families of those detained in Israeli prisons inside and outside Israel, such as Ashquelon, 'Atlit, and al-Khiyam, and is directed at those prisoners. Letters are frequently received from the prisoners via the international Red Crescent.

In the artistic field, programs vary between the very sedate and conservative such as "Forgotten Songs," supervised by Mr. Nizar Muruwwah, which takes up songs going back to an earlier era, and Western arts variety programs which are subject to the station's department of musical censorship.

Concerning financial resources, Francis says: "At first we received help from Czechoslovakia which provided the equipment, instruments, and experts who usually received their salaries from those in charge of the station. This equipment is still in use today. The party guaranteed payment and costs. Now we have become truly self-sufficient and materially independent, since advertisements cover the largest part of expenses, plus we rent studios to certain artists to cover the remaining portion. In the middle of last January, a very advanced broadcast studio was opened which compares with the best studios in the Middle East in terms of how it is outfitted and equipped." Francis denied there were any "invisible resources financing the station as some imagine."

On this subject, we must refer to the case pending between the Lebanese magazine AL-SHIR'A and Voice of the People. The former published an article dated August 6, 1990, asserting that the station "had taken \$200,000 from Iran to side with it over the Iranian

invasion of the al-Tuffah district," as the article put it. The case has been turned over to the Lebanese justice system for investigation.

Editor and announcer Nada 'Abd-al-Samad says that the station's success is due to its presenting people with broadcast news in an objective and neutral manner, rather than in a narrow partisan or class perspective. It deals with their concerns and issues in depth and makes sure the people's voice is heard by all officials.

MOROCCO

AL-'ALAM: U.S. Abuses Damage UN's Credibility

91AA0315A Rabat AL-'ALAM in Arabic 30 Mar 91 p 1

[Commentary by A. Ghalab: "With the People"]

[Text] National and international "institutions" lose credibility easily. However, they do not rebuild this credibility easily after it is lost.

We know that many institutions have lost credibility for many reasons, including disrespect for the charter and certain members of the institution playing games with the charter and imposing their domination over the institution. Many institutions have been dissolved, because they lost their credibility, and because some of the members played around with their charter, laws, and resolutions.

The United Nations is headed in this direction. It is certain that its credibility has been deeply shaken, because its five senior members used it for their own self interests, and vetoed every resolution that it attempted to issue. They implement what they wish, even if it means war, but are silent with regard to those resolutions they do not want, even if they mean peace, justice, and human rights.

Disregarding the United States' actions in the Security Council with regard to the Gulf crisis, when it imposed 13 resolutions upon it to blockade Iraq even to the point of starvation, illness, and epidemics, and then to bomb and destroy it, prevent agreement to a cease-fire, even humiliate and insult it, and deprive it of its sovereignty—disregarding these dangerous games in the life of the Security Council and the institution subordinate to it, that is, the United Nations—the United States has always stood against implementing hundreds of resolutions issued by the Security Council against Israel (400 resolutions adopted by the UN, and 170 adopted by the Security Council), since the Israeli occupation of Palestine.

America protests whenever the matter involves condemnation of Israel, and prevents implementation whenever a resolution is issued against Israel. Finally, the United States has prevented the Security Council from issuing a resolution condemning Israel, because of its use of inhuman methods against the Palestinian people who

resist it, including the deportation of Palestinians from their homeland, an action prohibited in all legal codes, charters, and laws. Israel acts, but the Security Council—in the face of the American position—can only “regret” the deportation orders. When has regret regained a right, or prevented an attack, or achieved security?

The Security Council has become a play thing in America's hands. Therefore, it has lost international credibility. What is its members' position? They are silent.

Tourism Statistics Show Overall Increase

91AA0314B Rabat AL-'ALAM in Arabic 28 Mar 91 p 5

[Article: “European Tourism Continues to Decline”]

[Text] According to provisional statistics, the number of tourists registered at border posts in 1990 was 2,978,366, an increase of 10.4 percent compared with 1989.

As in recent years, this stems from an increase in visits and border crossings into Moroccan territory by Algerians, whose numbers totaled 1.5 million in 1990. If we exclude Algerian tourists, who usually do not stay in hotels (since most are in transit between Europe and their country), international tourism declined again in 1990, following its continuous decrease since 1988, by an average of 5.2 percent, compared with 1989.

Once again, the decline has hurt the basic Moroccan tourist market, since European tourists totaled only 183,495. This includes a decrease of 3.1 percent in the French market, 28 percent with regard to Spanish tourists, and 4.4 percent of British tourists. Because of this, the European tourist share of national tourism dropped from 50 percent in 1989 to 39.7 percent this year. Moreover, tourists coming from the American continent declined at the rate of .8 percent. Non-Maghrebi Arab tourists also decreased 20 percent. The Maghrebi tourist share has come to represent 52.4 percent, while the non-Maghrebi tourist share has decreased to 1.5 percent. International tourism declined over the course of the year, and was not confined to the period of the Gulf crisis. Therefore, excluding the months of April, May, and November, during which more international tourists entered compared with the same period in 1989, all the other months experienced a significant drop, using the same measurement.

With respect to revenues derived from tourism, the total was 10,500 million Moroccan dirhams, an increase of 22 percent compared with 1989, according to provisional figures. In the first months of the year of the Gulf crisis, it rose 15 percent, totaling 4,587 million dirhams (3,976.4 million dirhams for the same period of 1989), and in the second half, coinciding with the Gulf crisis, it rose 27.5 percent, amounting to 5,913 million dirhams (4,637.6 million dirhams for the same period in 1989).

Writer Voices Concern Over Coming EC-Maghreb Talks

91AA0314A Rabat AL-'ALAM in Arabic 28 Mar 91 p 5

[Article: “New Complications in Relations Between European Community and the Arab Maghreb”]

[Text] After long hesitation, continuing since December 1989, and numerous postponements, Spain has decided to close the European loop, and to follow the example of the European Economic Community [EEC] by requiring citizens of the Arab Maghreb to have a visa to enter Spanish territory, starting the middle of May 1991.

Imposing this visa requirement did not come about suddenly, as referred to above and, in view of it being the neighbor of Spain, which still occupies Moroccan territory, it is implementing a condition imposed by Europe, which controls Spain to an extent that this article cannot enumerate in detail. Moreover, one should consider the current preparations in Europe, with regard to the United European Market in 1993, which will guarantee free passage of persons within the EC area, with guaranteed security and supervision, starting with airports and seaports. That was the freedom decided upon by Germany, France, and the Benelux (Belgium, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands), and was an inspiration for the Benelux to test the project there, through the “Shankhan” agreement, which other states may join if no obstacles are raised.

However, imposing the visa requirement carries a special meaning in this circumstance and, disregarding the problem of the continuing colonization of Moroccan territory, the visa requirement will be imposed on Maghrebis, with the exception of residents of Tetouan and Nador. The ramifications of the Gulf crisis continue, and it is unclear that they will cease tomorrow, or what their impact will be—officially and popularly—on relations between the Arab world, and especially the Arab Maghreb, and the EC. The latter aided in the aggression against Iraq, and did not act independently of America, even out of deference to its Maghrebi and Arab relations, or its Mediterranean position. EC countries took a basic part in the American aggression, led by France and Britain. These ramifications pose questions about the kind of Arab-European ties now and in the future, and about the seriousness of the statements of “intention” issued concerning a “new Mediterranean policy” or “Arab-European dialogue,” at the same time that a comprehensive, world order is being constructed and imposed by big brother America, in which Europe is joining in a subordinate position. An order continues, in accordance with his promises, against the Third World's right to progress, because big brother imposes a discriminatory supervision over the transfer of technology, preventing the Third World from having power, a scientific foundation, and technology.

In addition to the ramifications of the aggression against Iraq, and the European involvement in it, this circumstance is also marked by the onset of fundamental

milestones in relations between the EEC and the Arab Maghreb, represented—in the near term—by the renewal of financial protocols with Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia next November. Relations between the EC and Mauritania were stabilized by the Lome Agreement with African, Caribbean, and Pacific Ocean nations, while Libya—at present—is not tied to any agreement with the EC. Furthermore, there is the approaching date for the formation of United Europe, and the inclusion of the two new members of the EC—Spain and Portugal—in its final form. Two dates that coincide, and implementing the financial protocols, it is assumed, will begin next November. It is also assumed that the so-called "new, Mediterranean policy," which was announced last December, will also be incorporated into the EC.

This is hard to swallow. Spain's imposition of visa requirements on the citizens of the Arab Maghreb, which is now a federation, has come to be considered a normal event. Despite the fact it was not sudden, it will consequently be included in the elements of discrimination, because of those circumstances referred to before, and will be included with various pieces of evidence in the negotiations with the EC, in addition to those elements.

Negotiations with the EC must take into account the following factors:

- The Arab position vis-a-vis the EC, after its participation in the attack against Iraq, with its multiple facets: stop the attempts to damage Iraq's sovereignty and unity, and to humble it; withdraw the aggressive coalition forces from the Arab Gulf, and apply international law with regard to the Palestinian issue; and enable the Palestinian people to practice their legitimate rights to return, determine their own destiny, and to establish an independent Palestinian state, under the leadership of the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.
- The problem of eliminating colonialism on Moroccan territory, which Spain—a member of the EEC, occupies.
- The results of the EC's recent expansion, and the supplementary protocols, which were signed between Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco between 1986 and 1988, in order to modify existing agreements of cooperation between the three Maghrebi countries and the EC since 1976, in view of this expansion. Consideration must be given to the content of the EC statement of 30 March 1985, the eve of Portugal and Spain's membership in the EC, with regard to pledges concerning development of the EC's Mediterranean partners, and to the cause of the shortfalls in the area of trade relations, and the escalating protectionism for both agricultural and industrial products, most especially textile goods, which are subject to quota systems that are involuntarily self-limiting. It should also be taken into account the fact of the formation of the Arab Maghreb Federation, which must be considered as a joint participant, apart from the nations comprising it at this stage. A plan for cooperation with the federation, as a collective framework as well

as countries, must be crystallized.

- The united market is on the horizon for 1993, and the end approaches for the transitional stages, to which the two new EC members—Spain and Portugal—have been subjected. Both those members are in competition with the Arab Maghreb on more than one level: agricultural goods and handmade textiles. Moreover, they have benefited from the European system of preferential treatment, and from protective measures, stemming from the collective agricultural policy (P.A.C.).
- The negotiations with Uruguay and Rwanda, which are being conducted within the framework of the custom tariffs and trade organization, which America is pushing toward introducing considerable freedom in world trade relations, most especially in the agricultural area.

Furthermore, because of this strong connection with Spanish and European visas, the problem of human relations and immigration also arises, because Europe has imposed the visa to stop and control the emigration from the Arab Maghreb, or rather, because Maghrebis working in Europe threaten to expose the discrimination against liberalizing the possibility of freedom of movement and residence inside the EC, as compared with EC citizens. Because of what that might generate in terms of racism and damage to the interests of Maghreb migrants, or rather, because Maghrebi emigration continues, France has proposed a draft law in this regard recently, through one of its ministers, and will continue to do so in various, new forms.

Finally, there is the question of the fundamental, official dialogue between the Arab Maghreb Federation and the EC, and the crystallization of certain ideas pertaining to creating institutions of cooperation and growth, such as establishing a western Mediterranean grouping, including the Arab Maghreb and countries of southwest Europe (Portugal, Spain, France, and Italy), established on preferential bases, as well as establishing a Mediterranean bank for investment and development, etc.

Related to this, by the nature of the case, is the development of democratic life and human rights, and a state of law in the Arab Maghreb, since the security and stability of the region is tied in with that, as well as protection of the environment and other problems that European spokesmen are pressing for. There is also a need to overcome disputes—more theoretical than practical—and the great deal of superiority and paternalism that crops up on many occasions.

We point out these factors, because we know that the Europeans, when they deal with the Arab Maghreb, or with all the Mediterranean countries, do so with the mentality of goods and money, more than anything else. We know that the "new Mediterranean policy," which is being discussed, is nothing more than the two elements of merchandise and money, while the fundamental principle remains: the human, cultural principle. Expansionism in fact is what the EC is attempting, and some of

it is basic, i.e., enormous profiteering at our expense, and in a way that, sometimes, does not stop short of looking at us as "idiots," as the Egyptians say.

Therefore, after the changes that have stemmed from the Gulf war, we must reconsider many things with regard to Europe, starting with comprehensive negotiations between the Arab Maghreb and the EC. Without negotiating fully and definitively, without getting down to basics, there will be nothing new or renewed, but rather, after a short time, we might find ourselves in a state of decline, especially if Europe continues in its political subordination to America, because its subjugation to various pressures endangers European unity itself, and its progress, which has still not been completed.

SAUDI ARABIA

Ministry Publishes Hajj Regulations

91AE0368A London *AL-HAWADITH in Arabic*
19 Apr 91 pp 48-49

[Text] The Saudi Ministry of Pilgrimage Affairs and Religious Trusts has issued instructions governing pilgrimage affairs for the 1411 H season.

Saudi Minister of Pilgrimage Affairs and Religious Trusts 'Abd-al-Wahhab Ahmad 'Abd-al-Wasi' said the instructions aim primarily at serving and caring for the pilgrims of the House of God. The instructions also organize and define the responsibility of every individual and every party so that they all act in accordance with an established plan, in order to insure that consistent efforts and diligent work are maintained until the pilgrims return home after being blessed with the grace of God by performing the pilgrimage duty.

The Saudi official called for cooperation between pilgrims, their missions, and those in the Kingdom responsible for hajj affairs, in order to serve the Muslim pilgrims and gain God's reward. He stressed the need to abide by security arrangements and to maintain calm and tranquility. In a statement attached to the instructions the Saudi Ministry of Interior requested that no books, pictures, or leaflets of a political, propaganda, or ideological nature be carried that might influence certain people, directly harm certain others, or be contrary to the noble objectives of the pilgrimage.

The Saudi Ministry of Interior called for affording the guests of God the opportunity to perform their religious rites with humility and for not trying to distract them from religious observance, which is what they came for. Anyone violating these rules will be subject to punishment and deportation. Anyone found in possession of prohibited materials, regardless of their nature, will be punished and will be severely dealt with. Provisions of the kingdom's laws shall be applied strictly and with no leniency. This is because it is the responsibility of this ministry to maintain the security of both the pilgrims and the citizens, and to make sure that the territory of

this kingdom remains an oasis of goodness and safety for everyone coming to God's house or to visit the mosque of his noble Messenger.

God the almighty says: "For Hajj are the months well-known. If anyone undertakes that duty therein, let there be no obscenity, nor wickedness, nor wrangling in the Hajj. And whatever good ye do, (be sure) God knoweth it. And take a provision (with you) for the journey, but the best of provisions is right conduct. So fear Me, O ye that are wise." [Koran, 2:197].

Eight June 1991 has been fixed as the last day for granting visas to pilgrims and the last day for the arrival of pilgrims traveling overland to the Saudi borders is 12 June. With regard to pilgrims arriving by air and by ship to the Islamic port of Jeddah, the latest day of their arrival should be 16 June. With regard to those arriving by ships in other Saudi ports, the latest day of their arrival should be 12 June. The latest day for the arrival of pilgrims from abroad to Medina by air is 12 June. Also, the latest day for the departure of pilgrims from Jeddah to Medina by car is 9 June. The last day for travel by air is 12 June. The last day for the travel of pilgrims from Medina to Jeddah by air (before the hajj) is 18 June. The expiration date for visas issued to pilgrims who arrived by air and are scheduled to leave Saudi Arabia [directly after the hajj] is between the end of the month of Dhu al-Hijjah and 10 Muharram 1412 H (22 July) and is not to exceed that timeframe. As for pilgrims who arrived by sea, the date of their departure is fixed by the expiration date on their visas, which is the end of the month of Muharram. With regard to pilgrims travelling overland, their stay should not exceed 5 Muharram.

The instructions provide that a pilgrim should pay services and transportation fees. In order to obtain a visa a pilgrim should enclose two checks to his application, one for the sum of 444 riyals as services fees, and the other for 435 riyals for transportation fees, if he wishes to use air conditioned transport, or 345 riyals for nonair-conditioned transport. The second check is for accommodation fees in Mecca and Medina and other pilgrimage services for the pilgrim's upkeep. It is noteworthy that the service fees are not dues paid by the pilgrim; they are in return for actual services provided by public institutes to the communities, which include the services provided by the pilgrim services institutes in Mecca, the agents offices in Medina, the travel agents in Jeddah, and the al-Zamzimah office in Mecca. The fees are also for tent accommodations in 'Arafat, including water, electricity, sanitation, security, and a fan for each tent. The transportation fees also include transfers to Jeddah, Medina, and Mecca and return; from Mecca to 'Arafat, Muzdalafah, Muna, and return; and from Jeddah to Mecca and return. If the pilgrim is unable to bring two checks for services and transportation fees because of monetary restrictions in his country, he must pay the aforementioned amount (in cash) in Saudi riyals to the unified agents office representing the institutes of pilgrim services at the points of entry.

These fees are payable by every pilgrim over 15 years of age. Those between the ages of seven and 14 years of age pay half the fixed fees. This fee applies to all pilgrims, including those who come under the title of an association, authority, or mission. Only official pilgrimage missions are exempt from paying fees. Pilgrims arriving overland must pay 444 Saudi riyals, which represent service fees and tent fees in 'Arafat and Muna.

With regard to the non-Gulf pilgrim arriving from a Gulf country in order to perform the pilgrimage, he will be treated in the same way his compatriots are treated. If he wishes to live in the pilgrims' sea or land township, he must pay a fee of 80 Saudi riyals.

The instructions provide that the amounts paid by check for services do not include accommodation fees in Mecca and Medina. The pilgrim must pay them to the landlord. As a guideline, the approximate minimum for a pilgrim's stay in Mecca is 550 riyals and 200 riyals in Medina. It is noteworthy that this cost increases in proportion to the accommodation's proximity to the Holy Mosque and the noble Prophet's Mosque.

With regard to staying in 'Arafat and Muna, the accommodation is in tents provided by the pilgrimage services institute. This is covered by the check paid for service fees. An area of one meter by two meters is allocated to every individual. The pilgrim should not pay any money as a tip to any bus or cab driver of the companies transporting pilgrims. In case the driver asks for such

money the pilgrim should report the matter to the nearest inspection center of the transport union. It should be borne in mind that the Saudi government does not levy any pilgrimage fees. What the pilgrim pays is fees for services rendered by the public institutes for pilgrimage and guides; payment is to be made against cash receipts. Any other amounts paid for other services should be according to a mutual agreement. The instructions advise that every pilgrim should have 12 photographs to be used upon request. A female pilgrim that is not accompanied by a male blood relative must be with a group supervised by specialized people who will be responsible for her and look after her.

The instructions ban pilgrims from taking any jobs. Their only purpose should be performing the religious rites and duties, this being the objective for which they have come. The pilgrims should avoid living and staying in the holy places, in the streets, or in squares and on sidewalks in the two holy cities.

The instructions point out that the Kingdom is still implementing [the decisions] of 17th session of the foreign ministers of Islamic countries concerning arrangements for organizing and limiting the number of people arriving in the holy places for pilgrimage. They also stress that it is necessary for the pilgrims to be informed before their departure from their respective countries so that they can perform the religious rights legitimately and correctly.

INDIA

Shekhar Welcomes ULFA Cease-Fire Statement

*91AS0912A Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English
18 Apr 91 p 1*

[Text] New Delhi, April 17—The Government today indicated that Army and para-military operations in Assam would be suspended immediately as a sequel to the United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA) announcement to suspend violent activities and not to interfere in the election process, reports PTI.

In a positive reaction, the Prime Minister today welcomed the ULFA announcement and said this would help create a proper climate for holding elections.

Mr Chandra Sekhar said in the changed situation, operations by the Army and para-military organizations would not be necessary.

An official spokesman indicated here the Assam Government would announce immediately the decision to keep Operation Barjang in abeyance.

The ULFA in a statement issued in Guwahati—a copy of which was available here—had extended its cease-fire till further orders and also announced withdrawal of the ultimatum given to various political parties and non-interference in election process in the State.

An official spokesman said the Government attached great significance to the ULFA statement and hoped this could lead to holding of a dialogue and return of these “misguided elements” to the national mainstream.

The ULFA statement issued by its general secretary, Mr Anup Chetia, hoped that the Government would respond to their offer and immediately withdraw all special enactments imposed after President's rule in the State declaring the entire State as a disturbed area and banning of the organization.

The ULFA has also demanded withdrawal of the Army. As to their ultimatum to political parties, barring the CPI [Communist Party of India] and the IPF [India People's Front], the ULFA statement said though the ultimatum had expired on March 30, the front had identified the characters of these political parties but would refrain from taking any penal action due to the present situation.

The ULFA said it expected these political parties to come out of their so-called political ideologies for the greater interest of the people of Assam.

The ULFA statement said as indicated earlier, the front did not recognize the political process in the State and hence it would not interfere with holding of elections and other political processes in the State.

Stalling of Census in Kashmir Seen Politically Motivated

*91AS0733A New Delhi ORGANISER in English
17 Mar 91 p 7*

[Article: “Census Operations Stalled in J&K To Maintain Kashmiri Dominance Over Jammu Region”]

[Text] Jammu: The Census in Jammu & Kashmir has been abandoned at the insistence of Kashmiri vested interests of almost all parties, because increase in its population due to migration etc. although interested in depriving Jammu of its due share of more Assembly seats because it is being conducted in all other parts of the country, including the disturbed Punjab.

Officially no reason has been given for excluding J&K from this important process; yet, there are reports that it has been done at the instance of former Home Minister Mufti Mohammad Sayeed, as well as leaders of the National Conference and the Congress-I who have directly or indirectly impressed upon the Registrar General of India that in the present atmosphere created by the militants, census operations were not possible in the state.

But people are not convinced. They point out that if census could be held in disturbed states like Assam and Punjab, then why not in J&K.

The BJP has impressed upon the authorities to hold an early census pointing out that activities of militants are confined to just four out of the 14 districts of the state. The abandoning of the census on the other hand gives the wrong impression that the whole state was hit by insurgency.

The opposition by the Kashmiri leaders to the census at this stage is quite meaningful. Over two lakh persons have migrated from Kashmir Valley because of the situation created by the militancy. If at this stage the census is held, it would affect future of the Valley vis-a-vis Jammu which demands end to Kashmiri domination on their region.

This domination of Jammu region by the valley is because of the present political set up in the State which is based upon population figures. This happened in the 1950s when no census was conducted in Jammu & Kashmir though the rest of the country had a census in 1951. Therefore for delimitation of the constituencies for the State Assembly, which later was converted into a Constituent Assembly for enacting the separate Constitution of the State, was based on the 1941 census although the complexion of the population of the State had undergone a sea-change because of the migration of over one lakh Muslims to Pakistan and influx of over two lakh refugees from Pakistan-occupied-Kashmir as also coming down of large number of Hindus and Sikhs from Kashmir areas to Jammu.

The delimitation made on the basis of 1941 census gave only 30-seats to Jammu, 43 to Kashmir Valley and 2 to

Ladakh region in the 100-member assembly; whereas 25 seats were left unfilled for the region occupied by Pakistan.

To further deprive Jammu of its due representation in the Assembly the elections were rigged by rejecting nomination papers of almost all the candidates of Praja Parishad, the only opposition party which later merged into Bharatiya Jana Sangh. The Opposition was forced to boycott the elections resulting in no contest and the entire 75-member Assembly led by late Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah was packed with members of only one party—the National Conference.

In the 1961 census Jammu's population was about 16 lakh and that of Kashmir Valley about 18 lakh. But Kashmir continued to have thirteen more seats than Jammu. This led to further resentment in Jammu. BJS made great struggle against it. But the delimitation commission in 1966 gave only one more seat to Jammu.

Direct elections from the State for Lok Sabha seats were held in 1967. But Jammu was given two seats to the Valley's three.

In the 1971, census, the population of Jammu was 21 lakh and that of the Valley 23 lakh. In the delimitation of 1975, Jammu was given another Assembly seat raising the total from 31 to 32. But the average population of each Assembly constituency in the Valley was 57,900 whereas in Jammu region it was 67,000.

In the 1981 census the population of Jammu region was 26,91,621 and that of the Valley 31,30,090 and of Ladakh 1,32,299. No delimitation of Assembly constituencies has been undertaken though a commission was appointed over seven years ago.

To complicate the things further the ruling alliance of the Congress-I and National Conference amended the State's Constitution two years ago to raise the strength of the State Assembly from 76 to 87.

The Bharatiya Janata Party has demanded 41 seats for Jammu region and four seats for Ladakh. In support of their claim the BJP has been pointing out that along with population the vastness of Jammu and Ladakh areas should also be taken into account.

Jammu has an area of 26,293 Sq. Kms., the Valley 15,948 Sq. Kms. and Ladakh 96,702 Sq. Kms. Moreover, the terrain of Jammu and Ladakh regions is more inaccessible than that of the Valley.

The leaders of the National Conference and Congress-I are obviously opposed to census as it would provide new impetus to the claim of Jammu for ending the political domination of the valley.

It may be recalled here that the Jamaat-e-Islami and other extremist elements of Kashmir Valley had been challenging the very figures of the census of the past years with their nefarious designs to exploit the Muslim sentiment in Kashmir Valley as also elsewhere in the

Islamic world. In support of their claim they had been quoting census figures to argue that the percentage increase in the population in Jammu has been higher than that of Kashmir Valley.

This increase is the result of gradual migration of minorities, especially those of Kashmiri Pandits, from the Valley to Jammu areas. A number of Kashmiri Pandit colonies have come up in Jammu City and other areas during the past two decades. This migration further increased after the communal attacks on Kashmiri Pandits and their religious places in 1986. There was a near total exodus in 1989 and 1990.

The other reason for higher rate of increase in the population of Jammu is the large scale infiltration of Muslims from Pakistan-occupied-Kashmir in the Poonch-Rajouri areas. This infiltration registered a big increase after Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah was reinstalled in power in 1975. The rate of increase in population between 1971-1981 in other districts was less than 29 percent, while it was 37.47 in Rajouri district although in 1961-71 this increase was 26.73 percent only. Similarly, in Poonch district the increase was 30.27 percent between 1971-81, whereas it was just 10.52 percent during 1961-71.

As per census of 1971, the increase in the Jammu population between 1961-71 was 31.98 percent and that of Kashmir Valley 29.23 percent and during the decade between 1971-81, the increase in Jammu region had been 30.92 percent whereas in Kashmir Valley it was 29.42 percent.

By opposing the holding of census the Kashmir leaders of the National Conference want to retain their domination over Jammu.

More Details on 1991 Census Findings

Growth Rate Dips

91AS0879A Madras *THE HINDU* in English
20 Mar 91 p 9

[Text] New Delhi, March 25. India's decennial population growth rate dropped by a little over one percent, from 24.66 in 1971-1981 to 23.50 in 1981-1991, the largest percentage decline since independence. The average annual exponential growth dipped from 2.22 percent to 2.11 percent in the same period.

The population itself stood at 843,930,861 or 84.94 millions on March 1, 1991. In real terms, India added a Japan to its population over 1981-91 or an Australia every year.

Releasing the preliminary findings of the 1991 headcount, Dr A. R. Nanda, Registrar-General and Census Commissioner, told reporters on Monday that Indians constituted 16 percent of the world's population.

The sex ratio, he revealed, had declined to 929 females per 1,000 males in 1991 from 934 per 1,000 in 1981. The

SOUTH ASIA

JPRS-NEA-91-029
17 May 1991

literacy rate, however, crossed the 50 percent mark for the first time in Indian history, growing from 43.56 to 52.11 in 1981-91. A little over one in two Indians are now literate. Population density climbed from 261 per sq. km in 1981 to 267 in 1991. The figure stood at 117 in 1951.

Urban populations continued to multiply—Greater Bombay topping the list with a population of 12.57 millions, Calcutta 10.86 millions, Delhi 8.38 millions, Madras 5.36 millions, Hyderabad 4.27 millions and Bangalore 4.11 millions.

In terms of decennial growth rate of population, Kerala recorded the lowest growth rate, 13.98 in 1981-91 as compared to 19.24 in the preceding decade. The highest growth was seen in Nagaland, 56.86 in 1981-91, up from 50.05 in 1971-81.

Other States which recorded a drop in growth rate in the same period were Tamil Nadu (14.94 from 17.50), Karnataka (2069 from 26.75), Goa (15.96 from 26.74) and Gujarat (20.80 from 27.67).

The Census Commissioner said the figure of population arrived at after the Census differed by only 3.35 lakhs from the projection made by an expert committee of the Planning Commission. He said the United Nations and World Bank projections, which had projected a higher figure, adjusted the net undercount.

Sex ratio declines: On the question of sex ratio, the provisional Census document said: "Apart from being adverse to women, the sex ratio has also declined over the decades. The slight improvement noticed in the 1981 Census has not been maintained in 1991 and in fact there has been a fall of five points from 934 in 1981 to 929 in 1991."

Giving reasons for the decline, the document maintained: "Some of them (explanations) are a preference for male children resulting in neglect of female babies, the relative gap in the health conditions between males and females and certain types of mortality which are sex selective. The adverse sex ratio is also due to lower expectation of life at birth for females in the past compared to males, part of which is due to high maternal mortality."

Kerala with a sex ration of 1,040 females per 1,000 males in the 1991 Census is the only State with a ratio favorable to women. Himachal Pradesh with a sex ratio of 996, with a constantly increasing trend since 1941 onwards, is also approaching a State with a favorable sex ratio to females.

Kerala again tops: On the subject of literacy, Dr Nanda told reporters that while the total number of literates stood at 52.11 percent, the number of males were 63.86 percent and females 39.42 percent. Once again, Kerala topped with a total literate population of 90.59 percent in 1991, up from 81.56 in 1981.

Bihar was the least literate State with a total literate population of 38.54 percent. The figure for females stood at 23.10 percent. Rajasthan, however, had the dubious distinction of having the fewest number of literate females—20.84 percent.

Dr Nanda, giving comparative figures for neighboring countries of literacy, presented the following list with percentages in brackets for 1981: India (43.56), Pakistan (25.67), China (69.52), Bangladesh (28.42) and Sri Lanka (87.23).

He said India's contribution to the total world population had gone up from about 15 percent in 1981 to 16 in 1991. Dr Nanda said the global population stood at 5.35 billion of which China's share was 1.16 billion. The Asian continent totalled 59 percent of the world's total with the African share being 12.11 percent.

Dr Nanda maintained that census schedules were being processed in 163 regional tabulation offices all over the country, with 44,500 people manning these. Tables containing basic census data will be processed manually.

It may be mentioned that Assam's population, which was not enumerated in 1981, stood at 22.29 million in 1991. The population projection included in the 1981 Census stood at 18.04 million.

Statistics on Northeast

*91AS0879B Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English
1 Apr 91 p 8*

[Text] Agartala, March 31: With all seven northeastern states, including Assam, having registered much higher population growth than the national average of 23.50 percent during 1981-91, the delicate demographic balance is inexorably turning against the original indigenous population of the region.

This was revealed in the provisional census figures released here last week. The growth rate over the past decade has been 35.62 percent. As per population figures made available by the census department, decadal growth rate has declined this time in Manipur, Meghalaya and Mizoram against the 1971-82 figure.

But even the reduced growth rates of 28.56, 31.80 and 38.90 percent is higher than national average.

But, at 56.86 percent, the most phenomenal growth has been recorded in Nagaland, which is the highest in the country. Moreover, the decadal growth rate in Nagaland during the period under review is a clear 6.79 percent higher than the corresponding figures during the previous period.

In Tripura also, the population has grown by 33.69 percent this time against 31.92 percent in the previous period. It is only in Assam that the growth rate is marginally higher by 0.22 percent.

According to demographic experts, the higher population growth in the entire northeast may be attributed to

ceaseless infiltration from Bangladesh and a marginal increase in the representation from mainland Indian states. This is because the average birth rate in north-eastern states during the past decade has been lower than the national average of 32.4 per 1,000 of population.

In states like Nagaland and Manipur, the birth rate was down by as much as 7 percent, and in Tripura by four percent, as per 1988 figures.

The higher population growth is not, however, uniformly reflected in population density because of the hilly terrain of the region resulting in concentration of population in urban and other specific centers. It is only in Assam that the density of 284 is higher than the national average of 267. But the most remarkable feature of population density is found in Tripura where it has grown from 196 to 262 during the past decade—only five short of the national average per square km.

In terms of literacy, however, the achievement of the northeast states is quite remarkable, as barring Meghalaya and Arunachal Pradesh, the whole region has recorded a higher literacy rate than the national average of 52.11 percent. Mizoram has achieved the proud record of becoming the second most literate state in the country with 81.23 percent literacy rate, which is next only to that of Kerala's 90.59 percent.

According to informed sources, sponsored education, along with government efforts is responsible for the remarkably higher literacy rate in Mizoram.

Census 1991: Provisional Literacy Projections Viewed

91AS0768G Bangalore DECCAN HERALD in English
28 Mar 91 p 11

[Text] New Delhi, 27 Mar (UNI)—Rajasthan has the lowest female literacy rate in the country.

According to the provisional projections of the 1991 census, the female literacy figure in Rajasthan stood at 20.64 percent, followed by Bihar with 23.1 percent, Uttar Pradesh with 26.02 percent, Dadra and Nagar Haveli 26.1 percent and Madhya Pradesh 28.39 percent.

However, Rajasthan registered a 6.85 percent improvement in female literacy during 1981-91. It had recorded a female literacy rate of barely 13.99 percent in 1981.

Bihar improved by 6.59 percent over the 1981 female literacy percentage of 16.51, Uttar Pradesh by 8.84 percent over the 1981 figures of 17.18 percent, Dadra and Nagar Haveli by 5.72 percent over the figure of 20.38 percent and Madhya Pradesh by 9.4 percent over the 1981 figure of 18.99 percent.

The Census Commission has defined as literate any person who can read and write "with understanding" in any Indian language and not merely read and write.

Kerala Tops

Kerala tops the country in female literacy with 86.93 percent of the women in the State being literate, followed by Mizoram with 78.09 percent, Chandigarh 73.61 percent, Goa 68 percent, Delhi 68.01 percent and Daman and Diu with 61.38 percent.

Based on the 1981 census figures, Kerala improved by 11.28 percent over the previous figure of 75.65 percent, Mizoram by 9.49 percent over the 1981 figure of 68.6 percent, Chandigarh by 4.3 percent over the previous figure of 9.31 percent, Delhi by 5.44 percent over the last figure of 62.57 percent and Daman & Diu by 14.87 percent over the 1981 census figure of 46.51 percent.

Assam Told To Lift Disturbed Areas Act

91AS0873A Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English
21 Mar 91 p 5

[Article by Wasbir Hussain]

[Text] Guwahati, March 20: In a startling judgement, the Guwahati High Court today directed the government to withdraw the Assam Disturbed Areas Act from 12 of the 23 districts in the state on the grounds that there was no material to warrant the imposition of the Act in these districts.

A Division Bench of the court, comprising the Chief Justice S.N. Phukan, observed that whenever the provisions of the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act, 1958, and the Assam Disturbed Areas Act, 1955, are made applicable, there has to be a review by the government in each calendar month to ascertain whether continuance of the Acts are necessary. The court, in what is considered to be a landmark judgement, ordered that the first such review in the case of Assam has to be completed before April 20.

Today's directive was in response to a number of petitions filed by advocates, journalists and public interest activists, besides the People's Union for Human Rights (PUHR), challenging the government notification declaring the whole of Assam as a disturbed area and the imposition of President's rule in the state. The 12 districts from where the Assam Disturbed Areas Act have been asked to be withdrawn are Goalpara, Morigaon, Kokrajhar, Dhubri, Bongaigaon, Golaghat, Kamrup (except Guwahati city), Karbi Anglong, North Cachar Hills, Cachar, Karimganj and Hailakandi.

The court, meanwhile, has refused a prayer from the government to provide a certificate to appeal against the judgement in the Supreme Court on the ground that no substantial question of law was involved.

The judges observed that whenever the Army makes an arrest, they must hand over the arrested person to the nearest police station within the shortest possible time and that the person must be produced before a magistrate within 24 hours of the arrest. In a way, the court observation today more or less defined the term "least

possible delay" in regard to production of an arrested person before the police or a magistrate as mentioned in the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act.

Besides, the court observed that the Army was empowered to arrest only such persons against whom some evidence showing his/her involvement in a cognisable offence existed but it did not have the power to take someone into custody and thereafter release such innocent persons by giving them a clean chit. The court also observed that by imposing the Armed Forces and the Assam Disturbed Areas Act in the state, the "quality of life" of the innocent people in the northeastern region have been seriously jeopardized [as published].

Today's court directive is expected to have a definite impact on the state's political and administrative scenario. While the bureaucrats are already jittery, political parties like the Asom Gana Parishad (AGP), the Congress(S), Janata Dal, CPI(M) [Communist Party of India-Marxist] and others which have been vociferously demanding the withdrawal of these black laws have received the much-needed shot in their arm. Unless challenged, today's court directive will come in handy for those seeking the immediate withdrawal of the special powers provided to the security forces and may even turn out to be a major election issue in Assam.

PTI adds from New Delhi: The Army is being redeployed in Assam following an improvement in the situation in parts of the state, it was officially stated in New Delhi.

The sources said the Army was being moved to its normal locations on the frontier as large parts of the state had been cleared of ULFA [United Liberation Front of Assam] insurgents.

Draft Farm Policy Resolution Reported

91AS0870A Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English
18 Mar 91 p 8

[Text] New Delhi, March 17 (PTI): The government will aim at stepping up the growth rate in agriculture from the present 2.6 percent to over 3.5 percent in the coming decade, the draft agricultural policy resolution says.

This, it says, is necessary as one of the major challenges facing Indian agriculture today was low productivity and consequent low income levels of farmers, especially the small ones.

As regards another major challenge—widespread unemployment and underemployment in rural areas—the draft resolution says that substantial public funds would be invested in various measures, including providing livelihood outside agriculture for a part of the currently agro-based population.

The draft resolution was recently submitted by the Center to state governments and agricultural universities following a decision to this effect by a meeting of the full council of ministers.

The draft resolution stresses that there is need to support infrastructural development by the state and build an economic climate for investments by the farmers.

This should be done through remunerative prices for agricultural products, improved marketing and processing in order to enhance the share of the primary producer.

The draft resolution underlines that in the coming years, agricultural development will be promoted on the basis of agro-climatic patterns prevailing in different areas and adoption of farming systems approach.

The draft resolution says that the government would implement with vigour the consolidation of land holdings as the "reduction in the average size of holdings has become acute".

Research: On agricultural research, it says a major part of such research should be area and time specific and be supported by demand from users.

The focus of agricultural research in the institutes of Indian Council of Agricultural Research (ICAR) and the farm universities should be on increasing the production of pulses, oilseeds, coarse cereals and such other rainfed crops. This, the draft resolution says, would help the country achieve self-sufficiency in these areas.

It also says irrigation policy will be reoriented to treat ground water as the principal source of irrigation in many areas.

The government was to present the draft resolution, a major policy statement, in the last session of Parliament, but could not do so due to the suddenness of political developments.

The document was finalized by a committee headed by the deputy Prime Minister and agriculture minister, Mr Devi Lal, who took keen interest by bringing it before the full council of ministers for a discussion.

Though the work on the drafting of the resolution started last year when the National Front government was in power, the exercise got delayed.

This was due to differences of opinion on various issues, especially pricing policy, between the agriculture ministry and the standing advisory committee on agriculture (SAC) headed by the Shetkari Sanghatana leader, Mr Sharad Joshi.

Better Indo-U.S. Relations Seen Possible

91AS0878A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 25 Mar 91 p 14

[Article by Dilip Mukerjee]

[Text] Now that the distortions in international relations stemming from the Cold War are hopefully behind us, it is eminently possible to forge closer ties with the U.S. on the basis of respect for each other's vital interests.

Realism requires us, however, to keep two important qualifications in mind. One is the great asymmetry between the political and economic weight that the U.S. and India carry in world affairs. Not surprisingly, India needs the U.S. much more than the U.S. needs us, a fundamental that we need to keep constantly in mind. The second is that any viable relationship requires give and take.

What we want from the U.S. is readily defined. On the political plane, the most pressing is the problem posed by Pakistan's irredentist claims to Kashmir and its bid to blunt India's superior military capability (largely a function of its size) by aiding and abetting the challenges facing the Indian state from within. On the economic front, grave economic difficulties of our own making threaten disaster unless we can urgently obtain help from multilateral financial institutions and international capital markets. The U.S. can facilitate access to these, as it did in the case of other besieged countries in the 1980s by endorsing rescue efforts.

Political Discretion

We are also vitally interested in access to the U.S. market, the world's largest for manufactured exports from developing countries. While we have to take our chances in the competitive marketplace, there is scope for political discretion in respect of administrative actions such as those threatened for a time last year under the Super 301 provision of the U.S. trade regime. Once the present crisis has abated, we will need continued inflows of sensitive technologies—many of them of the dual purpose kind with both civilian and military applications.

The U.S. has been increasingly helpful since the mid-1980s. Underlying this shift was the Reagan bid to undercut Soviet influence in India, a motivation which diminished in relevance as the Cold War gave way to a thaw. But the momentum was maintained by a sense that New Delhi was gradually coming to terms with U.S. interests in the region, a pointer being the deafening Indian silence in respect of the U.S. naval build-up in the Persian Gulf in the closing stages of the Iran-Iraq war. Add to this the more recent U.S. global concern about the threat to nation-states from sub-nationalism which often manifests itself as religious fundamentalism (as in Punjab and Kashmir in the Indian case).

Regional Stability

This is no doubt a reason for the momentous change in the U.S. stance on Kashmir last year. Declaring that the U.N. resolutions requiring a plebiscite in Kashmir, which it had strongly supported are now obsolete, the U.S. now favors a bilateral effort to resolve the problem as envisaged in the Shimla agreement. Differences, of course, persist. In return for recognizing India as the leading power of South Asia, as the U.S. has done since 1973, Washington expects that New Delhi should use its clout in ways that do not alarm our neighbors.

As by far the largest military power in South Asia, and one with the biggest navy among Indian Ocean's littoral states, we should apply two Gorbachev concepts to our part of the world. One is that of "equal security," meaning that regional stability requires all countries within it to feel reasonably safe. Our goal should thus be "sufficient defence," meaning the search for an optimal level of capability that would ensure our security without raising fears about our intentions. Sufficiency is not easy to define but we should at the very least refrain from acquiring new categories of weapons that neighbors see as threatening.

It was not just Pakistan but also an otherwise friendly country like Australia which was taken aback by our leasing of a Soviet nuclear submarine. China cannot, now or in the foreseeable future, employ its navy as far afield as the Indian Ocean, while Pakistan's limited fleet is no match, despite the efforts made by it in the last few years to narrow the gap between the two countries. It is ridiculous to suggest that we need assurance, however limited, against intimidation on the pattern of Mr Nixon's despatch of a naval task force towards India during the 1971 war.

Restraint Needed

To cite one more example, there is no reason for India to expect any hostile action from our neighbors in South East Asia. Any military facilities in Car Nicobar are, and should be, correspondingly modest. Yet a proposal was pursued to build a runway on the island suitable for operation of heavy aircraft. Mercifully, the government was persuaded to reject the idea in consideration for South Eastern, particularly Indonesian, sensitivities.

In today's international context, restraint of this kind will raise our standing in both Moscow and Washington, and assure U.S. support from them as well as others for responsible exercise of power as in Sri Lanka and the Maldives, and discreet efforts earlier in support of the Seychelles and Mauritius.

We should also ask ourselves whether we need to keep on reiterating our pleas—as the Vice-President has just done during a visit to Mauritius—for making the Indian Ocean a zone of peace. In the eyes of many of our maritime neighbors, including Sri Lanka which fathered the concept, our stand translates into a bid for naval hegemony. In any case, we have to reckon with the reality that Washington will undoubtedly maintain a sizeable naval contingent as part of the post-Gulf war security arrangements. In the circumstances, common sense requires us to stop barking at the moon.

Nuclear Disarmament

The nuclear issue is another on which we need to rethink our policies. An overwhelming majority of nations is opposed to the spread of nuclear weapons. So are we but with disingenuous caveats to protect our search for a production and delivery capability that can be translated at short notice into a weapons programme if push comes

to a shove. For the first time, India set out at the 1988 special U.N. session on disarmament a plan for nuclear disarmament covering both the existing nuclear weapons states and threshold ones. We now need to follow it up with an initiative for a regional agreement against first use, a stand that China has long maintained, as advocated by an outspoken champion of an Indian nuclear deterrent like Mr K. Subrahmanyam. This will be greatly welcomed not only in Washington but also in Moscow and Beijing. Moreover, it will allow the U.S. to act much more decisively against Pakistan's clandestine efforts.

We need to do all this not merely to earn points in Washington but because these decisions are needed in pursuit of our national interests.

PRC Delegation Meets With Commerce Minister

91AS0799A New Delhi PATRIOT in English
14 Mar 91 p 2

[First paragraph PATRIOT comment]

[Text] India and China on Friday agreed to explore the possibility of collaboration in reconstruction activities in the Gulf region, reports UNI.

This was agreed at a meeting between visiting vice-chairman of the Chinese Planning Commission Gan Ziyu and Union Commerce Minister Subramanian Swamy, when the former called on Dr Swamy in the Capital.

They exchanged views on bilateral trade and economic cooperation, particularly scope for further expansion of mutual ties in various fields including joint ventures.

Mr Gan invited Indian entrepreneurs to set up joint ventures in China and added that India's expertise in the field of engineering consultancy would be of particular interest to his country.

Mr Gan said China had so far utilised about 20 billion dollars in direct foreign investment. At present 19,000 joint ventures and wholly-owned subsidies were registered in China, of which 10,000 big and small had begun operation.

Dr Swamy referred to the wide support for the Sino-Indian protocol on trade and economic cooperation, signed at Beijing recently. He hoped that both sides would work on specific agreements to give concrete shape to the proposals contained in the protocol.

He said that opening of the MMTC [Minerals and Metal Trading Corporation] office in Shanghai was being undertaken.

Special secretary to the Commerce Minister Shoban Kanungo was present at the meeting.

Earlier, Mr Gan had a meeting with members of the Planning Commission.

Effort Against Indo-Pakistan Friendship Seen

91AS0798A Madras THE HINDU in English
16 Mar 91 p 7

[Article by Kesava Menon: "Jolt to Indo-Pak Ties"]

[Text] Islamabad, March 15—In what appears to be a fresh move to block forward movement in Indo-Pak relations, a new controversy has been sought to be raised regarding the expulsion of an Indian U.N. official from Pakistan. A report about the expulsion and the possibility of India retaliating by expelling a Pakistani U.N. expert working in India seems to have been timed to appear before the next round of official-level talks gets under way.

According to the report, which appeared in THE NEWS, the U.N. official (erroneously called Mr. Singh) was made to leave after the Pakistani Government asked the U.N. to withdraw him. The report also suggested, citing Interior Ministry sources, that the official had been spying for India and contacting Sindhi and Mohajir nationalists while working in Karachi.

The paper also suggested that a Pakistani U.N. official working in India would soon be asked to leave by India.

Contrary to the impression given by the paper that this was a recent episode it is reliably learnt that the official concerned left Pakistan as early as in November.

The official, Mr. Ganpathi Vardarej (not Singh), had been one of those whose names had been on the panel forwarded to Pakistan by the UNDP [United Nations Development Program] before his appointment. The panel had contained names of experts from various countries with their complete bio-data. Mr. Vardaraj had completed nearly a year of his authorised three-year tenure as Port and Shipping Training Adviser in the UNDP's Karachi office before the controversy was sparked off.

In October last year the Pakistani Government had asked the UNDP to withdraw Mr. Vardaraj but had given no reasons when asked for the same. This was the second such case since an Indian national working for UNICEF had been asked to leave earlier.

It is understood that the Indian High Commission had raised the matter with the Pakistani Foreign Office in November. India had also asked a Pakistani U.N. official working in Bangalore to leave but both Governments had subsequently decided to be discreet about the issue. Its sudden revival points to an effort by the Interior Ministry's Intelligence Services to sour relations between the countries.

Analyst Calls for New Foreign Policy Toward Bangladesh

*91AS0762A Calcutta ANANDA BAZAR PATRIKA
in Bengali 9 Mar 91 p 4*

[Article by Sunit Ghosh: "In Light of the Change of Government in Bangladesh, India Needs To Open Up Its Foreign Policy"]

[Text] The free and fair election of Bangladesh has become an example to the political parties of India in general, and West Bengal in particular, which are used to taking the path of rigging in election. Many feared widespread bloodshed in the election. Many took it for granted that the large amount of weapons, which remained in the hands of a group of people even after the departure of Ershad, might be used in the course of election propaganda and unauthorized seizure of election booths. In the course of election propaganda, some bloody clashes took place between the supporters of different parties in which some people were killed. But the information about the election testified that the election was, in general, peaceful and the cases of rigging were almost nonexistent. The observers, who came to Bangladesh from different countries of South Asia, were unanimous in their findings that a free and fair election like this did not take place in great numbers in this subcontinent. For all of these, credit should go to the politically conscious and democracy-loving people of Bangladesh.

Previously, four parliamentary elections took place in the independent Bangladesh. The first election took place in March 1973, when the Awami League of Sheikh Mujibur Rahaman won 293 seats in the parliament after contesting in 299 seats. The second election took place in February 1978, in the time of General Zia. In that election, Zia's Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP), within six months of its birth captured 298 seats. The third election took place in May 1986, during the rule of Ershad. In that election, Ershad's newly born Jatiya Party captured 183 seats and Awami League got 76 seats. BNP boycotted that election. The fourth election took place in March 1988. This election was boycotted by the two major opposition parties—Awami League and BNP. Ershad's Jatiya Party captured 251 seats in that election. In each election, the ruling party came out victorious with tremendous majority. In the first election, Awami League got 73.13 percent of the vote. In the second election, BNP got 41.17 percent of the vote. In the next two elections, Ershad's Jatiya Party got 42.38 and 68.44 percent of the vote, respectively. All those four elections, managed by the ruling parties, were never free and fair. In the first election, in spite of Mujibur Rahaman's tremendous popularity and the certainty of victory of Awami League, complaints about rigging were raised from different circles. The same complaint was heard about the election that took place during the military rule of Zia. During the time of Ershad, the election of 1986 was just by name, and the 1988 election was nothing but a farce. If it is considered from all the

aspects, it can be said that this was the first free and fair election of independent Bangladesh. It was perhaps possible because a neutral caretaker government was in power. The Indian politicians could take a lesson from this.

The political circles of India were surprised by the result of this election. Perhaps the political leaders of Bangladesh are also surprised. Sheikh Hasina, the leader of the largest and the most organized political party, Awami League, failed to make a realistic evaluation of her party's strength before the election. In an interview with this journalist that took place in Dhaka on 14 December 1990, Sheikh Hasina confidently said that her party would get a minimum of 230 seats in the parliament out of a total of 300 seats. According to her, Jamat-i-Islami might come in second by getting 20 seats and BNP, under the leadership of Khaleda Zia, would not get more than 10 seats. She did not include the Jatiya Party of Ershad at all in her assessment. In comparison to hers, the evaluation of Khaleda Zia was more realistic. In the press conference of December 18, 1990, Khaleda Zia, in response to the comments of Hasina, very modestly said, "Look, I never utter any useless talks. Let them (Hasina) say whatever they want. I firmly believe that BNP would get a majority. We have a solid popular support." The election results proved that the claim of Begum Zia was well-founded. BNP got 31 percent of the vote and 140 seats while Awami League got 29 percent and 85 seats.

The political picture, brought forward by this election, indicates clearly that after the death of Mujibur Rahaman, the popular support behind Awami League has shrunk considerably. On the other hand, BNP gained a great deal of popular support. Moreover, one cannot ignore Ershad's Jatiya Party. Without getting help from the military, and bearing the bad reputation and discredit, and even contesting the election while in confinement, Ershad himself got elected from five different constituencies. In spite of common opposition from all other parties, his party captured 35 seats in the parliament. Without a minimum popular support this kind of success was not possible. Almost fifty percent of the total vote cast went to the bags of BNP, Jatiya Party, Jamat, and some other small parties, and one can easily notice some similarities in the political ideologies of these parties. The three distinct points of similarity are—Bangladeshi nationalism, anti-India feelings, and Islamic fundamentalism. But among these, the most prominent is nationalism. Another striking point is that, though Islam is the state religion of Bangladesh, the Islamic fundamentalists until now do not have much influence over the democracy-loving and politically conscious people of Bangladesh. The fundamentalist party of Jamat-i-Islami, which is funded by Saudi Arabia, got only 18 seats after contesting 217 seats. The Jakat Party, founded by religious leader Atarshi Pir, failed to get a single seat after contesting 250 seats. Muslim League also failed to get a seat. The Freedom Party of the former

military officers, who were connected with the assassination of Mujibur Rahaman, also came out empty-handed from the field of election after contesting 68 seats. In total, 70 political parties took part in this election, and 60 of them did not get any seat. In fact, during the last decades, many changes took place in the political thinking of the people of Bangladesh. Noticeable changes took place in the mentality of the student community as well as in the outlook of the minority Hindus. The student community which was once the standard-bearer of Awami League, is now assembled under the banner of BNP. The majority of the students' unions of Bangladesh are now in the control of BNP. One of the main reasons for the success of BNP in the urban centers is the support it got from the student community. No doubt, the clean image of Ziaur Rahaman, the able leadership of Khaleda Zia and her consistent opposition to Ershad had a great impact on the student community. The minority Hindus, who once jumped into the independence movement of Bangladesh after getting the call from Sheikh Mujibur Rahaman, now might not consider the boat of Awami League as a safe haven in the uncertain political situation of Bangladesh.

In this discussion of election, the issue of India's foreign policy toward Bangladesh comes up naturally. During the last two decades, India had a tilt in favor of Awami League in its policy toward Bangladesh. Whatever might be its historical reason, India's policy toward Bangladesh should be framed from a new look in light of the emergence of a new power over there. It is certain today that Khaleda Zia is going to form the new government in Bangladesh. The Bangladesh Communist Party 'Bakmal', Jatiya Awami Party, and Democratic Party came forward in her support. Before the election, these parties were in the coalition of eight parties under the leadership of the Awami League to oppose Ershad. Before and after the election, Begam Zia denied the charges that she was anti-India and clearly stated, "We are not against anyone. We want to keep a good relationship with India. But we do not want any other country to interfere in our domestic affairs." There is no scope of debate over this stand of Khaleda Zia. If Indian leaders reshape our foreign policy, accepting the nationalistic reality of Bangladesh, a new chapter of Indo-Bangladeshi relations might begin during the administration of Khaleda Zia which would help to resolve the bilateral problems.

'Nonresearch-Fellow' Scientists Threatening Militancy

*91AS0768H Bangalore DECCAN HERALD in English
28 Mar 91 p 11*

[Text] New Delhi, 27 Mar (DH News Service)—Health Ministry officials have pleaded helplessness to sort out the issue relating to the possible termination of the services of several hundred research staff working in various projects all over the country under the Indian Council of Medical Research [ICMR].

Highly-placed bureaucrats in the Ministry, while sympathising with the research personnel, are said to have expressed their inability to intervene in the matter in the context of a "fast-changing and fluid political scenario" over the last few months, a spokesman for the researchers told this correspondent.

It may be recalled that ICMR Director-General A.S. Paintal, in an order dated 9 December 1990, had said henceforth, the organisation would appoint only junior research fellows (JRF) and senior research fellows (SRF) for its various research projects. Other than these two categories, all other posts would lapse and not be filled, the order said.

Eligibility Test

The JRF and the SRF are those who qualify in the national eligibility test conducted annually by the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research and the University Grants Commission.

Following this order, researchers with the ICMR estimate that about 10,000 non-SRF/JRF project personnel may be affected.

However, ICMR bosses say the principal investigator of a research project may employ whoever is necessary and make payments out of "contingency for services" sanctioned to him. In the process, such personnel will be deemed to be working under the investigator and the ICMR will not be responsible in any way for those employed.

The new arrangement, according to the ICMR, is to prevent "misutilisation of funds" and discourage "back-door entry into the organisation."

But, the Society of Young Scientists (SYS), which represents the researchers, says that the ICMR move will result in the principal investigator having full rights to decide on payments and working conditions of the non-SRF/JRF staff.

In the absence of specific guidelines on the minimum pay for such staff and also the nature of work, the non-JRF/SRF employees would be reduced to the status of "contract labourers," the SYS Chairman contends.

The number of research staff may also be drastically cut leading to retrenchment in the number of existing staff, he says.

The ICMR has already started to renew research projects adhering to its new office order. In one instance, an ICMR-project at the All-India Institute of Medical Sciences here in the Ophthalmic Department, has been renewed by a letter dated 11 March which explicitly states that other than non-JRF/SRF staff, all the others will have to be employed by the principal investigator under the "contingency for services."

Demonstrations

In the meantime, the SYS-led researchers are planning demonstrations and rallies with support from counterparts all over the country. A day-long dharna was held on Tuesday before the ICMR headquarters here and a memorandum was presented to Prime Minister Chandra Shekhar who also holds the Health portfolio.

A torchlight rally through important avenues in the capital leading to the Prime Minister's house is also scheduled for 11 April.

Responding to the researchers' demands, ICMR Additional-Director-General S.P. Tripathy is said to have told the SYS that he would look into the matter of fixing guidelines on the new mode of employing non-JRF/SRF research staff.

If the grievances of the researchers are not sorted out soon, the SYS does not rule out more "militant" methods to achieve its objective of getting the ICMR order revoked.

Satellite Booster Rocket Motor Tested

91AS0803A Madras *THE HINDU* in English
24 Mar 91 p 1

[Text] Bangalore, 23 March—The Indian Space Research Organisation said here today that its Polar Satellite Launch Vehicle reached a milestone with the successful ground-testing of the powerful booster motor and its control system at the SHAR [expansion not given] centre of ISRO [Indian Space Research Organization], today at 11.45 a.m.

Prof. U. R. Rao, Chairman, Space Commission, and other senior officials of the ISRO witnessed the test.

The second test of the booster solid rocket motor had established the design and performance repetitiveness of the rocket motor and its components, the ISRO claimed.

The 2.8 m-diameter rocket motor, designed by Vikram Sarabhai Space Centre, Thiruvananthapuram, and stated to be the third largest of its kind in the world, has nearly 128 tonnes of solid propellant. This propellant mass is expended in 96 seconds, producing a peak thrust of about 450 tonnes.

The motor is an outcome of totally indigenous technologies developed by the ISRO centres with the support of Indian industries, the ISRO note said.

The high-strength 250-grade steel used for the rocket motor case was produced by the public sector Mishra Dhatu Nigam Ltd. it was precision-engineering and fabricated into rocket motor casting by Larsen & Toubro and Walchandnagar Industries Limited.

The raw materials required for the igniter, propellant and nozzle also came from Indian industrial houses, based on ISRO knowhow. The main oxidiser for the

propellant came from ISRO's captive Ammonium Perchlorate Experimental Plant at Aalawa in Kerala.

The test had paved the way for the preparation of the flight unit of the motor, it was pointed out.

Editorial Pays Tribute to Industrialist Tata

91AS0768C Bangalore *DECCAN HERALD* in English
28 Mar 91 p 8

[Text] Mr J.R.D. Tata's biggest contribution to the development of modern management in India in his 53-year tenure as head of the Tata empire has been to demonstrate the importance of professional management in realising growth with unity of a business house. While numerous family-based empires have recently broken up over disputes between different branches of the family, the house of Tatas alone has so far shown few fissures. One reason why the Tata group has been able to remain intact is that it has not had to bear the burden of contesting claimants to the family legacy. Credit for the growth of the group in the past five decades should go to Mr J.R.D. Tata for his foresight in delegating responsibility so that the constituent companies of Tata Sons, the holding company, could fulfil their potential. Ironically, the results of this policy will stretch to the fullest the abilities of his successor, Mr Ratan Tata, to keep the group together. Tata Chemicals and Tata Iron and Steel Company, two of the biggest and most successful companies in the group, have chairmen who have delivered on the freedom of action they have been provided. They are unlikely to accept without reservations the stewardship of Mr Ratan Tata. Though Mr Ratan Tata has been groomed for succession for over a decade, he can boast of few successes. By Tata standards, the electronic company NELCO which he has headed has been a failure. He has led the house into high-tech areas but these are yet to bear fruit. In his short period as executive head of the Tata Engineering and Locomotive Company he has only built on the foundations handed down to him. For Mr Ratan Tata to succeed he will have to demonstrate that he has more to him than the famous family name.

In the minds of most Indians, Mr J.R.D. Tata is most closely associated with Air India. A passionate flyer, he founded Tata Airlines in 1932 which was nationalised in 1953. He continued to serve the airline as Chairman and it was largely due to him that at least until the early Seventies Air India had a reputation to reckon with. Mr J.R.D. Tata's contributions are, however, much more than the development of Air India. He was one of the authors of the famous 1948 Bombay Plan which outlined the path industrialisation should take in free India. Within the Tata empire, he initiated and then oversaw numerous new projects like TELCO [Tata Engineering and Locomotive Company Limited] which were immensely successful. In recent years, he has shown a keen interest in social issues, especially family planning. He has been in the limelight for decades. Yet, what is remarkable is that while smaller business personalities have developed political connections, sought to derive

mileage from them and then seen their names dragged in the mud, in a career that spanned more than half a century no such allegations have been made against Mr J.R.D. Tata.

IRAN

Ministry Exempts Items from Import Duty

91AS0834J London KEYHAN in Persian 18 Apr 91 p 4

[Text] The Ministry of Industries of the Islamic Republic, in the wake of the open door economic policies, announced the import of 346 items of goods as permissible.

The public relations office of the above-mentioned ministry also released a list of goods that are permissible to import into the country and announced that the order for the nullification of the prohibition against these goods will be valid until the end of 1370 [20 March 1992], at the end of which period new decisions will be made.

Among the goods that are no longer prohibited are the following items: Metallic thread; hides of cows, calves, and buffalo; [velcro] zippers; ultrasuede; waterproof fabrics; sewing thread; gardening tools; various saw blades for cutting wood, plastic, and cloth; various kinds of 808 and similar drawer locks; lanterns; beads and sequins; metal frames for eyeglasses; CMC powdered milk; beeswax; powdered fish; powdered cheese; cheese rennet; powdered eggs; sweetened or salted butter; untreated coffee; various types of pepper, vanilla, cinnamon, nutmeg, cardamom, turmeric, and cocoa powder; various kinds of electrical equipment; electrical, lighting, and signaling equipment; telex and fax machines; telegraph and teletype machines; various types of electric motors; florescent light starters; car radio antennas; electric bulbs and tubes; various types of oxides; and various types of chemical and laboratory materials.

(The complete list of these items is available at the KEYHAN London office. Those interested may contact the newspaper office to receive the list.)

Over 60,000 Tons of Tea Purchased

91AS0834K London KEYHAN in Persian 18 Apr 91 p 4

[Text] In order to respond to the needs of consumers, this year the National Tea Agency has so far purchased about 10,000 tons of tea from Indonesia, Sri Lanka, India, and Kenya. According to the director of this agency, foreign credit has also been extended to import another 12,500 tons of foreign tea.

Saber Hamishegi, the general manager of the National Tea Agency, announced some time ago that from now on, the distribution and import of this traditional item which is used by all the people is considered among the important duties of the National Tea Agency and that this agency will directly take charge of the duty of

providing the tea needed by the people from domestic and foreign sources. This official, who was participating in a press conference, said: "Considering the ratification of the Majles in 1968 [as published], the activities of four agricultural, industrial, research, and service divisions were conferred on the National Tea Agency, and activities of the trade division were conferred on the Ministry of Commerce. But since all the divisions which deal with tea for the country must be in communication with one another and act collectively, it was decided that the trade division also be conferred on the National Tea Agency."

The general manager of the National Tea Agency announced that this year 60,000 tons of tea have been imported and said: "Considering the three-month supply of 451,000 tons of domestically produced and 60,000 tons of imported tea this year, the people will have no problems in regards to tea."

The above-mentioned official added: "The price of mixed tea is 600 rials per kg, and the price of fresh domestic tea is 2,000 rials per kg for the consumers."

A recent traveller from Tehran to London told our KEYHAN correspondent that at present, Iran is facing a shortage of tea, and many people are obliged to purchase this basic consumer item at several times the price on the open market.

This same traveller added: "In the course of the week following the new year, on the open market, Darjeeling tea was traded at a cost to the consumer of more than 1,000 tomans per kg."

Nonoil Export Goals Reportedly Unrealized

91AS0834L London KEYHAN in Persian 18 Apr 91 p 4

[Text] While the economic planners of the Islamic regime of Tehran estimated the value of the nonoil products to be exported during the present five-year development plan at about \$17.8 billion, available statistics and data concerning the export of such goods indicate that in 1368 [21 March 1989-20 March 1990], that is, the first year of the implementation of the economic development plan, the value of the nonoil exports of the country amounted to only \$1 billion and in 1369 [21 March 1990-20 March 1991] to about \$1.3 billion. Thus, if the economic officials of the Islamic Republic are trying to achieve the projected plans for nonoil exports, in the remaining three years, that is, 1370 [21 March 1991-20 March 1992], 1371 [21 March 1992-20 March 1993] and 1372 [21 March 1993-20 March 1994], about \$15.5 billion must be added to the national treasury through the export of nonoil products. In other words, the preparedness of the bureaucratic export system, the possibility of exporting goods from the point of view of domestic production, and finally, the level of world demand for Iranian traditional goods must be such that every year at least \$5 billion worth of goods are delivered to buying countries. Economic experts believe that at the present, for numerous reasons, the possibility of nonoil exports from Iran do not exist in excess of \$1.5

billion annually. For this reason, the planners of the regime must soon, in addition to their other economic disappointments and failures, add failure in the area of nonoil exports. An analysis of the statistics of the nonoil exports of the country shows that about 60-65 percent of the total of these goods consist of three traditional export items, handwoven woolen carpets, pistachio nuts, and various kinds of hide, and that, until the country has achieved the capability to produce special industrial products, it will be impossible to reach the economic goals in this area.

Tavakkoli Editorial Reviews Last Year's Developments

91AS0807A Tehran *RESALAT* in Persian
19 Mar 91 pp 1, 15

[Editorial by Ahmad Tavakkoli entitled: "A Thriving Year"]

[Text] If we keep in mind that the economic problems of the country in the course of many long years had become a chronic disease, and that an economy as sick as this has never found and will never find a rapid cure anywhere at any time, then we will not be surprised at the title of this article [A Blissful Year]. We must bear in mind what situation we were in and, if the same situation had continued, where we would have been, and now, at the end of a fully active economic year, where we are, in order to realize the blessings as well as the remaining weaknesses.

The important economic and social problems of the country were the severe decrease in production and employment, the increasing rise in cash flow and inflation, the excessive expansion of bureaucracy, along with administrative corruption, an unbalanced budget, the reliance on oil revenues, the growth of imports and the low amount of nonoil exports, in short, the inflationary recession along with the social disorder stemming from it.

Although this problem has not been eliminated, there is evidence that it has nearly been harnessed, and the economic movement is acting to eliminate and not escalate it. In fact, after the establishment of the new government, when the policies of economic reconstruction endorsed by the imam [Khomeyni] were implemented, a new trend began. These policies were the basis of the five-year plan.

The change in the foreign currency, commerce, customs, and industrial policies began in the first half of 1368 [1989], and the results can be seen in the statistics and figures.

- Production and investment: From 1364 to 1367 [21 March 1985-20 March 1989], the gross national product decreased annually by an average of 5.6 percent. After five years, in 1368 [21 March 1989-20 March 1990], this trend changed and increased by 2.6 percent.(1) Although the GNP for 1369 [21 March

1990-20 March 1991] cannot yet be calculated, considering the production figures, the trend is toward a continued increase. The production of light and heavy industries increased from 10 to 360 percent compared to 1368 [1989-90].(2) General statistics on industrial production in the first three months of 1369 [21 March 1990-20 June 1990] indicate a 28 percent growth compared to a similar period the previous year.(3) The production of important agricultural items also in 1369 [21 March 1990-20 March 1991] indicates growth compared to 1368 [21 March 1989-20 March 1990]. The production growth of wheat was 51 percent; cotton, 6 percent; rice, 31 percent; grains, 56 percent; potatoes, 100 percent; onions, 152 percent; and sugar beets, 10 percent. Fodder and oil seed plants decreased by 30 and 53 percent, respectively.(4) Statistics on investment and employment are not available, but the developmental investments of the government in 1368 [21 March 1989-20 March 1990] increased 27 percent compared to the previous year.(5) And since the restrictions on people's investments have also decreased significantly, the situation seems better than before. Of course, due to the unreasonable accumulation of manpower in industrial units, employment has not increased in proportion to production. At the same time, the work efficiency has increased.

- Decreases in the budget deficit and in cash flow: The cash flow in the private sector, as an important factor in inflation, has come under control such that its growth has decreased from 24.2 percent in 1367 [21 March 1988-20 March 1989] to 19.5 percent in 1368 [21 March 1989-20 March 1990] and 8.4 percent in the first six months of 1369 [21 March 1990-20 September 1990]. This decrease occurred mainly as a result of the decrease in the budget deficit. In 1367, more than 50 percent of the government budget consisted of the budget deficit. This ratio decreased to 28.2 percent in 1368, and the ratio of the deficit to the total budget in the first eight months of 1369 [21 March 1990-20 November 1990] reached the unprecedented figure of 15.5 percent.(6)
- The control of cash flow and the decrease in the budget deficit have been the result of foreign currency policies and the increase in government revenues. Although the policy of changing the rate of foreign currency has played an important role in the revenue increase, the increase in tax revenues is also worthy of note. Tax revenues increased by 20 percent in 1368 [21 March 1989-20 March 1990] compared to 1367 [21 March 1988-20 March 1989], and in the first eight months of 1369 [21 March 1990-20 November 1990], tax revenues increased by 37.6 percent compared to a similar period in 1368. This success caused the ratio of taxes to the GNP to increase from 4.4 percent in 1368 to 5.2 percent in 1369 [21 March 1990-20 March 1991], and the contribution to providing for the operational expenditures of the government from tax revenue increased from 35 percent to 38 percent. This trend reflects a decrease in the direct reliance of the general budget on oil revenues.(7)

- Production increase: The control of cash flow and elimination of cumbersome regulations have resulted in an increase in supply and control of demand. Consequently, the speed at which prices were increasing has decreased, such that the rate of inflation in regards to consumer goods and services in the first 10 months of 1367 [21 March 1988-20 January 1989] was 28.8 percent compared to a similar period in the previous year. But in the 10 months of 1368 [21 March 1989-20 January 1990], it was 19.6 percent, and in the 10 months of 1369 [21 March 1990-20 January 1991], it decreased to 8 percent. In other words, prices which were increasing rapidly are now increasing less rapidly.(8) The continuation of the existing trend should result in the control of inflation. The elimination of government-concentrated regulations, trust in the people, and entrusting the work to them, in addition to decreasing corruption and discontent, result in movement in production and employment along with the decrease in the rate of inflation. In other words, the existing capabilities have been utilized better, and recession and inflation will be harnessed together.
 - Following a policy of economic balance without adjusting wages is neither possible nor desirable. That is, when we allow prices to be determined by supply and demand, wages, which are the price of manpower, must also be adjusted. In this connection, in Khordad 1369 [22 May-21 June 1990], the government offered a bill to the Majles. Even though it was delayed, finally the Majles agreed to increase the salaries of employees, and the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs also approved the workers' minimum wage. These decisions were a step toward preventing the further decrease in the purchasing power of the wage earners, which must be improved.
4. Statistics of 1368 [21 March 1989-20 March 1990], from the economic report for 1368 of the Plan and Budget Organization and the statistics for 1369 [21 March 1990-20 March 1991] from the general office of farming and orchards of the Ministry of Agriculture, from which they were obtained and compared. The reason for the significant increase is the low level of production in the 1368 agricultural year. At the same time, in most cases, production is higher than it was in 1367 [21 March 1988-20 March 1989].
5. ECONOMIC REPORT FOR 1368, p. 78.
6. and 7. Speech of the president at the Majles while presenting the 1370 [21 March 1991-20 March 1992] budget bill.
8. Central Bank, office of economic studies. The price trend for the first 10 months of 1369 [21 March 1990-20 January 1991].

Editorial Criticizes Algerian Press

9IAS0767C Tehran JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI in Persian
16 Mar 91 p 2

[Text] Some of the Algerian press has in recent days taken a wrong turn concerning the problems of the region, in particular what is going on in Iraq. On the one hand, they question the position of the Islamic Republic of Iran in the oil war and complain about Iranian leaders not entering the war in support of Saddam, and on the other hand accuse Tehran of interfering in the internal affairs of Iraq and supporting the people's uprising in that country. Without revealing to their readers the facts and the rationale behind the Islamic Republic of Iran not interfering in the oil war, the Algerian press is biased in their judgment and arrives at preconceived conclusions.

There may be no need to explain the false notions discussed to some degree in the Algerian press these days. The nature of the oil war, on both sides of which expansionist and aggressive leaders fought, is not unclear to anyone. In such a situation, expecting an Islamic government that acts in accordance with justice to enter such a war in which both sides are wrong is not rational.

The government of the Islamic Republic of Iran also could, like the government of Algeria, support Saddam in terms of slogans and not take the slightest step in practice to support the government of Iraq and fight the United States. But such a policy is for government leaders who do not act in accordance with justice and who take advantage of the situation and the events of the day for their own or government interests.

The government of the Islamic Republic of Iran is not deceitful, and in deciding about war and peace or any other action which concerns the interests of the Iranian nation and the Muslim nations of the region, it does not follow the lead of others. The politicians of Tehran, while announcing their neutrality in the oil war, gave utmost attention to the Muslim people of Iraq and, while

The economic performance of the government has had some considerable deficiencies in important areas. The very slight growth in the export of nonoil products, lack of movement in transferring nonstrategic government units to people, and continuation of vast government organizations are among them. Of course, in this connection, steps have been taken, but the opportunities still before us are too valuable to be lost, especially since economic issues are like the links of a chain and failure in one area of the policies shall reduce the effectiveness and even cause the failure of other actions. I wish more success for all who serve and victory and increasing prosperity for the brave and self-sacrificing nation.
Notes:

1. ECONOMIC REPORT FOR 1368 [21 March 1989-20 March 1990], Plan and Budget Organization, Azar 1369 [22 November-21 December 1990], pp. 59, 60.

2. Director general of the Central Bank in a gathering of students of the international relations college.

3. Central Bank, report of the office of economic studies.

condemning the crimes of the United States, did not stop at any effort to end the war and establish peace.

The uprising of the people of Iraq is also an event that concerns the people themselves, and the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran has no hand in it. The Algerian press must realize the fact that the nation of Iraq, after several decades of suffering at the hands of the Ba'th regime of Iraq, has now reached its boiling point and is ready to take charge of its own destiny. Under such circumstances, relating this general uprising to foreign governments is most unfair and is a great injustice to the oppressed people of Iraq. That group in the Algerian press who attack Iran most unfairly based on such a viewpoint are, in fact, supporting the United States, because the United States also accuses the Islamic Republic of Iran in the same manner and intends, with this accusation, to implement its sinister plans.

Would it not be better for the Algerian press to refuse to follow the same path as the criminal government of the United States?

PAKISTAN

Legislative Failures Viewed

91AS0740B Karachi DAWN in English 19 Mar 91 p 11

[Article by Mushtaq Ahmad: "Failure of Legislative Power"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Lamenting the spectacle of a deserted house, the Speaker of the National Assembly, Mr Gauhar Ayub, warned the absenting members that if he found their seats vacant in the future he would not be present in his chair to preside over its sessions. He had reasons to be annoyed over the presence of only twelve members in a legislature of two hundred and thirty seven.

This was not the first occasion to warrant an uncomplimentary remark from the presiding officer of the nation's highest tribune. Mian Farooq Ali before him had used even stronger language to admonish them not to treat their trips to Islamabad as holiday jaunts or the Assembly as a cinema house or tea shop. Idle gossip, angry outbursts or unbecoming expressions and absenteeism are not peculiar to the parliamentary life in Pakistan. What is peculiar is their persistent occurrence. Besides, walk-outs, boycotts, slim attendance and lack of quorums at the commencement of the proceedings and in their midst leading to frequent adjournments, have become too common a phenomenon to be glossed over in any impartial analysis.

The Speaker as a guardian of the privileges of the House and a custodian of its sanctity has a special responsibility to do all that lies within his power to maintain its dignity and decorum a responsibility he can discharge only with the willing cooperation of the members belonging to the Treasury Benches as well as the Opposition. Mr Gauhar Ayub, ever since the assumption of high office, had been

at pains to remind both sides of the House of the imperativeness of the spirit of tolerance. A parliamentary system of government does not insist on opposition conformity, it is permissive of dissent rooted in genuine differences of policies to inform and educate public opinion.

Even before the election following the dissolution of the assemblies the discerning eye could foresee that there were no policy differences between the IJI and the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] despite the pretensions of one to be the heir to the ideological legacy of the Muslim League and the professions of the other to the welfare-oriented secularism of the Pakistan People's Party.

The nation did not have to go through an expensive electoral exercise to realise the superficiality of the claim advanced by either side in what was in fact a struggle for place and power. Benazir had already compromised on the socialism preached by her father and Nawaz Sharif had no reservations on the policy of privatisation to which his political godfather was committed. The primacy of laissez-faire philosophy was equally owned by both in shaping the contours of the economy. If there was a difference it was a difference of accent and not of principle in the economic organisation of society.

The character of social organisation was manifest in the composition and complexion of the National Assembly, which had undergone no noticeable transformation after four general elections held within a period of two decades. For the politicians politics was a game in which who gets what, when and how and each retains for himself what he has. The unchanging behaviour of the National Assembly is an evidence that nothing has changed except the government. A change in the competence and calibre of its personnel has a meaning only if it can influence the quality of legislation and the formulation of public policy.

The present Assembly like its predecessor is not altogether bereft of talent training in politics. Some of its members are men of high academic qualification and others rich in experience. They are, however, not representative of the well-informed intelligentsia but of the uninformed multitude. Those who represent the middle class from the urban areas of Sindh are still raw in the field. The late A.K. Brohi, an eminent jurist and a Law Minister in the Cabinet of Mohammed Ali Bogra in the early years, had described the Assembly of his times as an assemblage of uninformed ignoramuses.

The overwhelming majority of the feudal yes-men can still be relied upon to back officially sponsored legislation, their own interests being safe in the hands of the government they support. Consequently, most legislation is often passed without discussion by a small number present in the house—the number being smaller than the total strength of the opposition. To this normal exhibition of mediocrity, there are exceptions when the country is treated to a rare display of oratory and perceptive analysis of events.

The debate on the Gulf war revealed a high degree of sophisticated talent in the minority of the members, at the same time it also exposed the lack of it in the majority which is there not to express an opinion or listen to its expression by the minority even if that minority belongs to its own tribe of politicians. The unanimous resolution adopted by it on the conclusion of the debate condemning in no uncertain terms the ruthless American bombing of the innocent civilian population in Iraq, was, however, intended by the government to pacify an enraged public opinion at home and not meant to send a message abroad that the people of Pakistan, its National Assembly and the government were all united in the condemnation of Washington's policies in the Middle East.

The conspicuous absence of the Prime Minister, the Foreign Minister and the Leader of the opposition from the House, must have been justifiably interpreted by the policy makers in the State Department and its executors in the Pentagon as a signal of approval rather than of alarm.

The Assembly has never taken its responsibilities seriously with the result that the government has always taken its consent for granted in the field of foreign policy, finance and legislation. It did not protest against the government of Benazir for violating the fundamental principle of 'no taxation without representation' when it imposed a number of taxes on essential items of consumption in the form of surcharge—a performance repeated with a vengeance by the government of Nawaz Sharif.

On both occasions it was docile and inarticulate to the point of abdicating its authority. Call them by any name as they do in the United States, these are indirect taxes all the same, whose crushing burden falls on the masses. The majority of the Assembly may not be conversant with the intricacies of the fiscal system, but the members almost in their totality understand that so long as their incomes, agricultural or otherwise, are not taxed they have no objection to an executive encroachment on their legislative domain.

The primary interest of the legislators is in land, industry and business. Legislation which has a bearing on welfare of the people is not even their peripheral concern. Law making has become an executive and departmental preserve, and ordinances a recognised procedure for legal enactments. Confronting the assembly with a fait accompli has been a common practice inherited from the imperial days, what was a useful resort of the dictators for whom their word was law, also came in as a handy device for the democrats for whom democracy was a disguised dictatorship.

Even after direct elections the assembly was not able to come into its own and occupy a central place in the political system. It has never much legislative business to transact and whatever legislation is brought before it, regardless of the importance of subject matter, is quickly

disposed of more to adorn the statute book than to improve the lot of the people, whose interests it is intended to represent.

The laws relating to the employment of children, banking reforms and terrorist activities are examples of executive usurpation of legislative functions. The prohibition of employment of children under 14 was a constitutional obligation on which three elected governments had gone to sleep only to wake up to the call of the United Nations where our delegates were more vocal as they usually are in international gatherings while in the National Assembly not even a faint voice was heard.

Passed by a quorumless house it has a doubtful legal validity and no practical utility. With millions of them working in the fields, factories, workshops and domestic service of the upper strata, they cannot be thrown out of employment without affecting the livelihood of their families. Of what use is a legislature that does not have either the capacity or the desire to think and legislate on problems, on whose solution depends the welfare of the future generation and the future of the country itself?

Banks were hastily nationalised by the government of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and their denationalisation is being undertaken by the government of Nawaz Sharif in still greater haste. The Assembly's contribution to measures of such vital importance to the economy was negligible. A highly controversial piece of legislation on the establishment of special courts for the suppression of terrorist activities, was rushed through the House in the twinkling of an eye. Confirming the deep rooted suspicion that it can be used as weapon of harassment and vindictiveness against the opponents of the regime, its impact on political and parliamentary life can well be imagined.

Comparing its composition with the previous assemblies, the Speaker observed that it was better equipped with talent and experience for a faithful performance of its functions. He might well have added that unlike its predecessors while the government has majority of 150 members it has also a strong opposition of nearly fifty members to provide a firm basis for the evolution of a two-party system. The mere existence of two large parties which have a national base does not, however, make for a two-party system unless the parties subscribe to alternative programmes for mass welfare and national reconstruction. In the recently held two elections no such possibility emerged. The loyalties evoked were personal, parochial and provincial. Slogans and shibboleths more than sense and substance determined their outcome. Were it otherwise a swing of the electoral pendulum from one end to the other would not have been possible. In a struggle for power principles have no part to play. That struggle was extended from the public platform in election times to the parliamentary floor after the elections.

JI Calls for 'Islamic Order'

91AS0740C Karachi *DAWN* in English 16 Mar 91 p 8

[Text] Lahore, March 15—A "Down With America" rally of the Jamaat-i-Islami has warned the people against U.S. designs of a political, economic and cultural hegemony to emerge as the only superpower through its New World Order, and called for a crusade by the united Muslim Ummah against the "evil force."

"The Americans continue to remain present in the Gulf to suppress the message of Islam and do away with our Islamic identity because it is of the view that after the fall of communism, the Muslim world is a stumbling block in the way of fulfilment of its conspiracy," the Jammat Amir, Senator Qazi Husain Ahmed, told the participants of a rally here on Friday.

The Jamaat leaders and workers marched from Lohari Gate to Bhati Gate on Circular Road in observance of the "Down With America Day" to protest against the U.S. military presence in the Gulf. The participants carrying banners and placards, raised slogans against the U.S. Banners and placards were also inscribed with slogans.

At Bhati Gate the Jamaat leaders criticised the U.S. in the harshest tone and advised Pakistan Government to go for nuclear deterrent to ensure security of the country. They also pleaded for Jihad and said that the so-called new world order of the U.S. was bound to collapse as only an Islamic order would prevail.

The speakers included Punjab Amir Maulana Fateh Mohammad, MNA [Member of National Assembly] Mian Mohammad Osman, MPA [Member of Provincial Assembly] Farid Ahmad Piracha, Maulana Abdul Malik of the Ittehad-i-Ulema, Mufti Mohammad, Husain Naeemi and Engineer Abid of Hizb-i-Islami of Afghanistan.

Apart from the U.S., the Jamaat leaders also criticised President Saddam Husayn whom they considered as equally responsible for the massacre of Muslims.

While Qazi Husain Ahmad made subtle criticism against the Iraqi President, MPA Farid Piracha had no reservations while stating that "Saddam Husayn has acted as an agent of the U.S. imperialism. At the same time they were also critical of the monarchs and emirs of the Gulf states who had failed to develop their countries militarily and economically with their huge oil wealth and had to call the American armies to help them.

Qazi Husain Ahmad said that the U.S. had taken direct control of the resources of Gulf states which continued to wilt under monarchies and dictatorships who had denied their citizens any fundamental and democratic rights.

The Jamaat Amir was critical of the IJI [Islamic Jamhoori Ittehad] government which, he said, was thirsting for U.S. aid."

Editorial Sees Need for Intra-Party Democracy

91AS0740A Karachi *DAWN* in English 13 Mar 91 p 9

[Editorial: "Intra-Party Democracy"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] One reason why many or most political parties in Pakistan have been going through a process of fragmentation is the absence of intra-party democracy. Several parties began as splinter groups within the parties and later turned themselves into separate organisations, sometimes even retaining the original names. The Muslim League experienced its first throes of vivisection in the mid-fifties when it was subjected to large-scale defections to form the Republican Party under the tutelage of President Iskander Mirza. That misbegotten outfit was the country's first 'King's Party'. The rump Muslim League then broke into two factions when Ayub Khan became its chief. More splits came later until at one stage in the '80s, there were half a dozen Muslim Leagues. Today also, there are at least three of them. The National Awami Party was once a united party in East and West Pakistan. On the issue of relations with China and support to Ayub Khan during the presidential election of 1964 it failed to contain its differences within the party fold and split into two factions. A few years ago, the Baloch and Pakhtoon wings of the same party drifted apart to become separate parties. JUI [Jamiat-i-Ulema-i-Islam] and JUP [Jamiat-e-Ulema-e-Pakistan] have suffered the same fate with two different factions of each claiming to be the original parties. The PPP [Pakistan People's Party] has not had a rival PPP formally proclaimed, but the party is not without its share of dissensions within, with several pressure groups competing for a dominant voice. Many dissidents have been expelled. The latest to experience expulsions or defections is the MQM [Nuhajir Qaumi Movement]. The news about rifts within the party has been circulating for quite some time. With Mr Azim Tariq's Press conference last Thursday, the split has come into the open, with several leaders and workers expelled from what was once thought to be a monolithic organisation.

Political under development is usually not associated with well-organised parties subsisting on steady loyalties. Speaking more specifically, however, one of the main causes of this process of factional splits and fragmentation is the failure of the parties to organise themselves and conduct their business on sound, democratic lines. Differences within a party are a normal phenomenon. All leaders and workers belonging to a party would not naturally have the same view of a given issue or situation. But if the party is truly democratic in structural disposition and working norms, it will be able to absorb divergence within the organisation by providing an institutional framework for debate, discussions and internal criticism. Such a process makes it possible to round off the sharp edge of differences on a given matter and helps evolve a consensus which invariably strengthens the party, not weaken it. Regrettably, what we have is largely a personalised pattern of party leadership rather than

one shaped and thrown up by the normal democratic process of periodic elections and the contest of ideas. In most cases, these processes are carefully avoided at the top level of leadership and office-bearers are nominated rather than elected. Since the leader is the party, a difference of opinion with the leader is considered disloyalty to the party itself. For this reason, differences may not come to the surface and the party may continue to maintain a facade of unity, but only for a while. Invariably, one day, there is an explosion of the kind so often experienced by our parties.

There is one obvious reason why the parties are not democratically organised: democracy was never allowed a reasonably free and uninterrupted run in this country. From this it is possible to argue that because of this, the parties did not have enough opportunity or the compulsion to organise themselves democratically. It can also be said that because the parties were structurally weak and often blundered in working the democratic system, there have been recurring bouts of authoritarian rule. However that may be, the pertinent point is whether the parties have drawn some useful lessons from the past and are ready to respond more meaningfully to the challenges of the country's fresh experiment with democracy. Most things in the country are managed in the feudal style which emphasises personal bonds and undermines institutional development. Politics and parties are no exception. The issue essentially is one of relating each party more closely to the concerns and objectives that account for its existence, giving it a truly democratic structure and allowing it to develop a personality of its own, rather than keeping it tied to the apron-strings of its leader. Only then can a party protect its organisational integrity and its inner cohesion. A party which does not practise democracy within can hardly do well when it comes to running a democratic government.

Attacks on Journalists Condemned

Walkout in Senate

9IAS0738A Karachi DAWN in English 19 Mar 91 p 1

[Article by Anis Mirza: "Newsmen Walk Out Over Journalist-Bashing"]

[Text] Islamabad—It was an extraordinary scenario in the Senate. Seldom has the Upper House been the scene of unanimous en masse protest walk-out. Rather, its proceedings have been distinguished by a benign, even tempo. Shortly after the Senate commenced its proceedings on Monday and was getting ready to say farewell to its outgoing members who had completed their four-year term, journalists covering its proceedings walked out of the Press gallery in protest. The boycott heralded their strong condemnation of the assault in Karachi, on HERALD reporter Zafar Abbas and his family.

Not a single correspondent stayed back in the Press gallery. Besides the representatives of the independent

non-government newspapers, correspondents representing the government-owned electronic and print media (Television, Radio Pakistan and Associated Press of Pakistan) also joined the protesting newsmen. The parliamentary correspondents rose together and quickly moved to the adjacent Press lounge. The Senators were taken by surprise.

Noticing the empty Press gallery, Jamaat-i-Islami Senator Prof Khurshid Ahmed drew the attention of Senate Chairman Wasim Sajjad. Khurshid's voice floated into the Press lounge through the speakers. He said the assault on Zafar Abbas and his family was in fact an attack on the freedom of the Press and a violation of the fundamental and constitutional rights of a correspondent to carry out his professional functions. Muslim League's Mohammad Ali Hoti said the physical attack on Zafar Abbas, who is also the BBC correspondent in Pakistan, had tarnished the image of Pakistan at home and abroad. Sen Hoti said it was unfortunate that the incident occurred when a government returned through elections was in office. Sen Fasih Iqbal, former chief of the All Pakistan Newspapers Society, who is currently Chairman of the Senate Committee on Information and Broadcasting, said he was appalled that a correspondent had been brutally attacked, especially when the Islami Jamhoori Ittehad [IJI] government was holding the reigns of office. Fasih, Editor of the BALOCHISTAN TIMES, said: "I strongly protest over this attack as Chairman of the Senate Committee on Information and Broadcasting, but also because I have had a long association with the Press. The IJI Government should immediately look into this outrageous attack on a newsman and his family."

Sen Javed Jabbar, a Minister of State for Information and Broadcasting in Benazir Bhutto's Cabinet, and whose expertise in communications is well known, rose from his seat and said it was a sad day for democracy in Pakistan. Javed Jabbar requested Senate Chairman Wasim Sajjad that the Press correspondents be requested to return to the Press gallery and an assurance be given to them that the Senate Committee on Information and Broadcasting would take up the matter.

Jamaat-i-Islami Amir, Qazi Hussain Ahmed, condemned the attack on Zafar Abbas and said it was not just a stray incident. He mentioned the name of a particular ethnic group and charged that this group had created law and order problems for the citizens of Karachi and Hyderabad. Sen Qazi Hussain said both the Information and Interior Ministries should immediately investigate the attack on Zafar Abbas and his brothers.

From distant Balochistan, marble millionaire Nabi Bukhsh Zehri of the PML [Pakistan Muslim League] supported Qazi Hussain Ahmed and Javed Jabbar and said there should be a proper investigation into the horrendous incident. Just as Zehri registered his protest, from the front ministerial benches Federal Law Minister, Chaudhry Amir Hussain, told the Senators that the

Government took a very serious view of the attack on Zafar Abbas and a thorough enquiry would be instituted.

When the correspondents covering the proceedings of the Senate did not end their token walk-out, several Senators walked into the National Assembly Press lounge to persuade the newsmen to end their boycott. Among those who came to assure the correspondents were Law Minister Chaudhry Amir Hussain, Sen Fasih Iqbal, Sen Khurshid Ahmed and Sen Javed Jabbar. After the Senators' assurances to the newsmen, the Press went back to the Senate Press Gallery.

Journalist, Distributors Targeted

91AS0738B Karachi DAWN in English 19 Mar 91 p 11

[Editorial: "Attack on Journalist"]

[Text] Sunday's violent attack on a Karachi journalist in his house by seven unidentified men has caused revulsion and anger throughout the country. Because the journalist concerned, a HERALD staffer, also reports for the BBC, the incident immediately acquired an international dimension. The identity of the attackers could not be established, and as we write there is no report of the police having made any arrests. But the assault that left the newsman bleeding, besides causing injuries to his brother and damage to household effects, has served once again to highlight the increasing trend towards violence against newsmen and the conditions of duress, threats and intimidation under which newspaper organisations in Pakistan have to operate. The attack coincides with the burning of the copies of some newspapers and planned disruption of their circulation. This is, of course, not the first incident of its kind. Of late, newspapers throughout Pakistan, in Karachi particularly, have been subjected to all sorts of intimidatory tactics that have included manhandling of journalists, attacks on and ransacking of newspaper offices, assaults on agents and hawkers and "boycotts"—a euphemism for forcible stoppage of newspaper sale and delivery. In most cases, such highhanded methods have been resorted to on the plea of misreporting or a lack of proper display to their news (the concept of news being extended to mean repetitious statements).

Misreporting, though possible, may not always be either deliberate or so blatant as to cause a violent reaction. Aside from motives which some politicians are quick to attribute to reporters and newspapers, there may be a genuine mistake resulting from a lack of clarity of articulation or poor audibility, just as a distortion of meaning may be caused by a remark printed out of context and with a slight variation in the shade of emphasis. In any of these cases, the aggrieved party has several options available to it: it could insist on the newspaper printing a retraction of its own or, in the alternative, publishing a contradiction or a clarification issued by the aggrieved party. A third option, in the event of a newspaper refusing compliance, is to ask other newspapers to print the correction and a fourth is to take

the matter to court. Finally, an offended party could persuade its followers not to buy or read a newspaper which does not follow the normal practice regarding retraction or contradiction where it is due. But under no circumstances does an individual, a group or a political party have the right to take the law into its own hands, however strong its sense of grievance in a particular case. Yet this is precisely what has been happening. Protesting groups of students and armed political cadres have disregarded the normal means of rectification and resorted to methods that are utterly abhorrent, even fascist in nature. With intolerance and coercion fast becoming the norm of political conduct with certain sections, the danger to our fresh experiment with democracy is obvious. We demand of the provincial government to trace and arrest the attackers and prosecute them for their criminal excesses. We also expect of the federal government to take note of the vulnerability of newspapers and newsmen in Sindh to paranoid political activists and frenzied mobs. The entire atmosphere here is loaded in favour of gangsters and hoodlums out to enforce their will. More important, we appeal to all political parties to check the hotheads in their ranks. Without exception, all major political parties have been involved in attacks on newspaper offices and seem to have no regrets about it. We would, however, like to warn them that should fascism come to prevail, Press freedom will not be the only casualty.

Attackers Not Found

91AS0738C Karachi DAWN in English 19 Mar 91 p 3

[Text] Karachi, March 18—No clue has been found to the persons, who had attacked city journalist Zafar Abbas, and ransacked his house in Gulshan-i-Iqbal on Sunday.

Mr Irfanullah Marwat, Adviser to the Sindh Chief Minister said no one had been nominated in the FIR [First Information Report] by the complainant and so it was difficult to nab the culprits.

DIG [Deputy Inspector General] Karachi, Aftab Nabi, who was also present at the Press conference, said a team headed by SSP [Senior Superintendent of Police], East and DSP [Deputy Superintendent of Police] Gulshan-i-Iqbal had been formed for investigation of the case and efforts had been mounted to locate the accused persons.

Mr Marwat said that the newsmen who were subjected to harassment should first get the cases registered so that the police action could follow.

JANG Reporter Harassed

91AS0738D Karachi DAWN in English 19 Mar 91 p 3

[Text] Karachi, March 18—A staff reporter of DAILY JANG Karachi, Aziz Narvi, was abused by some unknown persons in a Suzuki car. They tried to take him away with them at Lasbella Chowk, late on Sunday night.

When Mr Narvi went to report to the police checkpost, the miscreants managed to escape.—PPI.

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